The Background of the Bible

Henry Kendall Booth

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THE BACKGROUND OF THE BIBLE

A HANDBOOK OF BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION

BY

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FOREWORD

THIS book is for those who have no time for detailed and extended study, but would like to gain a fairly comprehensive idea of the meanings and values of the Bible. It seeks to present in compact and readable form the rich results of modern scholarship, without burdening the reader with details or perplexing him with technicalities. The main purpose has been not so much to enter into a detailed study of the biblical books as to set forth the background of thought and life out of which they came, and so make the Bible interesting and vital for our modern day, as a book of life rather than of simply texts and words.

THE BOOK

"Gallery of sacred pictures manifold,
A minster rich in holy effigies,
And bearing on entablature and frieze
The hieroglyphic oracles of old.
Along its transept aureoled martyrs sit;
And the low chancel side-lights half acquaint
The eye with shrines of prophet, bard, and saint,
Their age-dimmed tablets traced in doubtful writ!
But only when on form and word obscure
Falls from above the white supernal light
We read the mystic characters aright,
And life informs the silent portraiture,
Until we pause at last, awe-held, before
The One ineffable Face, love, wonder, and adore."

—WHITTIER.

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INTRODUCTION

THE NEW BIBLE COUNTRY—ITS DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

This phrase aptly describes the change which has taken place in the relation of the modern man to the Bible. There opens before him a new Bible country in which he may follow new paths of study and behold new vistas of truth.

And this new Bible country which lies invitingly before him has been discovered and explored for his benefit by the modern scholars who have blazed the trail and pioneered into the new land.

The discovery of the new Bible country took place near the close of the seventeenth century and the discoverer was Richard Simon, a Catholic theologian who in 1687, inspired by the daring of the philosopher Spinoza, found this new Bible country and proclaimed its existence to the world. After him came Jean Astruc, a French physician, and John Eichhorn, a German philosopher, and in the eighteenth century they made still further explorations into this new country of biblical truth. All through the nineteenth century, following in the wake of these pioneers, a host of eager seekers after truth swept out into this new land and explored its every nook and cranny. Thorough, scientific, exhaustive was their work, and the new land has by them been completely charted, so that any man is free to wander there now at will and find himself in a wonderful new land of truth.

And now, to drop the figure of speech and to speak in more literal terms, modern scholarship by its work of two

centuries has made the Bible a new book, more intelligible, greater in its power and influence than ever before. And it is that old Bible, made new by modern research, that is discussed in these chapters, reviewing the wealth of light and meaning that is now available regarding the Bible, making it a new and more vital book.

And, as a general preliminary to the study, it will be best to survey briefly the main conclusions of modern scholarship regarding the Bible as summarized in this general statement of the meaning of the Bible to-day:

The Bible is not a book but a library; the product not of one mind and age but of many minds and many ages; the record not of the fixed but of the progressive revelation of God; designed not to teach history or science but morals and religion; whose inspiration is not verbal but personal; and whose authority rests not upon tradition, infallibility, or churchly sanction but upon its own intrinsic value as the supreme religious literature of the world.

(1) The Bible is not a book but a library; not a simple and easily understood volume, but a whole complex and difficult literature.

No more erroneous idea has ever prevailed regarding this book than the one which has so largely been held since the Reformation, that the Bible is a simple book, which the average man can grasp with no difficulty. On the contrary, it is a varied literature with its sixty-six books from many authors, known and unknown, written at various ages and from various view-points, in every conceivable type of literature, and fairly bristling with problems and questions that challenge the mind and perplex the earnest student. The more thorough study of the Bible in our day has revealed even more clearly than in past generations how complex, difficult, perplexing the Bible really is. It requires long years of patient study to master its many problems, and the profounder the scholarship the

less inclination to assume the complete knowledge so often asserted by superficial readers of the book.

(2) The Bible is an anthology, culled out of a much larger literature, and, as we have it, represents the finished work of many centuries of selection, revision, and editing.

We now know that behind both the Old and New Testaments is a very large body of literature which was never accepted by the Church as canonical or authoritative, but which is the quarry out of which the present Bible was mined. Such literature as we find in the Apocrypha of the Old and New Testaments and the apocalyptic literature represents this larger library out of which our Bible was chosen. Then in the course of the centuries, from many sources, as the book gradually grew, successive groups and individuals have revised, rearranged, and edited this material until it has reached its final form. This fact affords the one sufficient and satisfying explanation of the contradictions and repetitions which are found in the Bible.

(3) The Bible is a record of the progressive unfolding of the divine revelation to an elect and remarkable race.

The Bible is a Hebrew book, written almost entirely by members of this race, and representing throughout the thought of this amazing people, whose religious genius is unquestioned, and whose great contribution to history is in their passion for religion.

But the religious consciousness of this people mirrored here so faithfully was a growth, a gradual unfolding through the years. Two thousand years of changing human life and thought are here gathered together between its covers.

Modern scholarship by its rearrangement of the literature chronologically instead of topically (as it now stands) has made plain the growth from crude beginnings to a more complete form of ethical and religious

ideas. This fact solves the most difficult problem of the Bible, its many statements of moral and religious ideas, far below our present standards. Slavery, polygamy, cruelty, apparently believed to be sanctioned by God, appear in this book. On the ground of a fixed revelation throughout the Bible, and a book of equal value in all its parts, this great moral problem of the Bible is insoluble, and it was used as a powerful weapon against the Bible in the skilled hands of an Ingersoll.

The Bible, then, is the record of a progressive revelation, and finds its climax in the Christ and his teaching, which are the crown of the book.

(4) The Bible is a record of God's revelation in life rather than in language.

The Bible is not so much the Word of God as the Acts of God. It shows God at work in the life of a race. It is a book of life rather than of teachings. Its supreme revelation is of the human heart and life touched by the spirit of God. It is thus a record of what God did rather than what God said. Its power and value as compared with other religious books lies in this fact, that it is from beginning to end a Book of Life.

Such a view makes the Bible a new book. It is no longer a collection of texts, but a gallery of personalities. It becomes vivid, colorful, gripping, laying its hold on our imaginations and our souls.

It follows that its inspiration is of life rather than of letter, of men rather than of writings. For inspiration is an inbreathing of God, and words cannot be inspired, but men alone can be and are. As an old divine put it: "God did not become words, he became flesh." So the Bible lived first in the souls of men and was then by them expressed in language. The divine inspiration was of the motive, purpose, ideals, character, life; but the thoughts and the words in which they found final expression were colored by the contemporary environment of the writers, by the

scientific, historic, social, and moral ideas of the age in which they lived.

There is, then, no letter-perfect Bible, each word the final utterance of deity. But the Bible is rather a divine-in-human book, where the divine expresses itself in human life, thought, and word.

(5) The Bible is a book of religion, and its one purpose is the impartation to men of religion, and religion alone. So its sole authority is in the realm of ethics and religion, in which it is the world's supreme text-book.

It was never intended to be an encyclopædia of general information, nor a manual of history, nor a text-book of science. Any claim to infallibility in history or science has been made by men for the Bible, never by the Bible for itself. Some of its history is inaccurate; and the general method of historical narrative in Scripture is unlike that of the modern historian in order, perspective, and treatment. Its science, likewise, is primitive, and cannot be harmonized with modern science. But its ethical and religious teaching, as it finds its final development in the supreme passages of Scripture, has a finality and authority even in our age, and bids fair to retain it for all time to come.

(6) The Bible validates its eternal supremacy in the fact that it furnishes a dynamic for living.

Born out of life, revealing God at work in life, being a book of life, this great book was written not only to teach but to inspire. Its supremacy over all other books lies here. Its inspiration is proved by the fact that it inspires. It is the most vital and redeeming volume in the world's library. Its great personalities, with their glowing deeds and wonderful lives, even more than their immortal words, have a power to make over life that can nowhere else be found. This intrinsic value, needing no profound scholarship or technical approach to understand, makes the Bible for all time the Book of Life, transforming the life of men.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE BIBLE

CHAPTER I

THE BIBLE AND THE SPADE

The Bible is unique among the sacred books of the world's religions in the fact that it came out of real life and was born out of actual history. It was not created in a vacuum. Behind its words is a background of the history of a people who were in a peculiarly central position topographically in the ancient world, and who on this account were in contact with all the great civilizations of the past. The Mediterranean world in which the Bible came into being saw the rise of the successive civilizations of Babylonia, Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, Syria, and Rome, and they form the shifting backgound of the book. To understand with any degree of fulness the cultural and religious, as well as the historical record of Hebrew life one must understand these great civilizations that so profoundly influenced the Hebrew people, and with which they were in such close relations. A knowledge of these ancient empires forms an indispensable aid to the interpretation of Scripture.

And we are fortunate enough to live in a time in which that knowledge is available to the Bible student through the modern science of archæology which, for the last century, with pick and spade, has been unearthing the remains of the buried civilizations of the past. Its achievements have been marvellous and, thanks to the patient work of these scientists, we now know the distant past almost as well as the present.

I. The Story of Archæology

For centuries the history of the long-dead civilizations of the Mediterranean world was shrouded in the mists of

obscurity. Mediæval travellers record their impressions of such obvious works of past ages as the pyramids; but in general it may be said that up to a century ago almost nothing was known of the wealth of buried remains of the past, of which evidences were indicated in ruins of temples, palaces, and cities all around the Mediterranean. As instance of this fact, the ruins of ancient Babylon and Nineveh were passed by apparently only as natural hills; and the "Valley of the Kings," at Thebes, out of which has been revealed in our day the splendor of the past in Tut-Ankh-Amen's tomb, was thought to be only a barren desert canyon.

The beginnings of archæology are practically coterminous with the dawn of the nineteenth century. At this time a group of intrepid explorers with scientific passion, vitally interested in bringing to modern knowledge the story of the past, began their work in the Mediterranean world. Rich and Layard in Babylonia, Rawlinson in Persia, Mariette and Petrie in Egypt, Robinson and Renan in Palestine made their amazing discoveries; and the ancient cities of Babylon, Nineveh, Persepolis, Thebes, Jerusalem again stand revealed in something of their ancient glory. At the same time the work of other great archæologists in ancient Greece and Rome made clear the glory that was Greece and the splendor that was Rome.

Early in the century palæography, the study of ancient writing, also added its impetus to the passion for delving in the remains of the past; and the work of Champollion in deciphering the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and of Grotenfend in reading the cuneiform tablets of Babylonia, brought back to the world the lost languages of these old civilizations, and thus made intelligible the mass of inscriptions, tablets, and manuscripts continually revealed by the excavator's spade.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century more elaborate and systematic undertakings were entered upon

not only by individuals and learned societies, but by governments as well,—French, German, and British,—who lent their financial and moral support to these difficult and expensive projects. In spite of the opposition of suspicious native governments, the destruction caused by crude methods and the ignorance of native helpers, and a host of physical difficulties, archæology moved steadily forward and achieved some of the most amazing and spectacular results of any modern science. It is sufficient to say, in a word, that the former civilizations of the Nile Valley and the Euphrates region, thanks to the patient work of the archæologists, are to-day literally brought back from the dead, and we know them almost as well as our own day. Vast finds of architecture, of arts and crafts, of literature, of customs and practices, of religion and social life were made by the excavators, and are now in the various museums of the world in rich and bewildering profusion. A large army of other scholars have been enabled to interpret the meaning of this wealth of material to the mind of the modern world. Technical skill and scientific accuracy have grown apace, and the archæology of to-day, no longer crude or amateurish, is restoring to us, with a fidelity and completeness that are amazing, the whole structure of ancient civilization—material, intellectual, social, and religious.

II. The Bible Countries and Archeology

Of special interest and value to the Bible student are the archæological researches in the countries directly mentioned in the Bible as the background of its history.

(1) Mesopotamia.

Those great alluvial plains lying between the Tigris and Euphrates were from the earliest times the seat of successive civilizations—Sumerian (or Ancient Babylonian), Assyrian, Chaldean (or Neo-Babylonian), and Per-

sian. Yet the remains of these great empires were comparatively scanty owing to climatic and topographical conditions. Archæological material may be roughly divided into two classes:

Inscriptions, or literary remains;
Non-literary remains—statues, pottery, buildings, jewelry, etc.

Of this latter group Babylonia has preserved but very little, but the finds have been extensive in the line of tablets, inscribed cylinders, and such literary remains.

The first great discoveries were made in the fifties at a shapeless hill-like mound by two Frenchmen, Botta and Place, who found that they had unearthed the old suburb of Nineveh, Khorsabad, and had discovered the old palace of Sargon. A little later Sir Henry Layard made more extensive explorations at a near-by mound and found that he had uncovered ancient Nineveh and a whole complex of palaces builded by Sennacherib, Ashurbanipal, Tiglath-Pileser III; and a vast mass of sculptured lions, bas-reliefs, and tablets there found now repose in the British Museum. The magnificence of those ruthless imperialists of old Assyria stood revealed to the world, and the discovery stirred up great excitement and kindled enthusiasm for further explorations under Smith, Rassam, and others. Among other great finds was the complete account of the Deluge in Babylonian script, deciphered by Smith and given to the world. It parallels the account in Genesis quite closely. Of almost equal interest for its light on the Mosaic law was the discovery of the Code of Hammurabi, the "Amraphel" of Genesis (Gen. 14:1), the Moses of old Babylon. Later explorations by an American group from the University of Pennsylvania were made at Nippur by Peters and Hilprecht. Babylon's site was first discovered by Layard, and excavations were undertaken by the Germans before the World War, and

continued since then by an Anglo-American group, who have unearthed a vast mass of brick buildings constituting the temples, fortresses, and palaces of Nebuchadrezzar the Great. Of special interest, also, to the Bible student was the discovery of Ur of the Chaldees in 1854, whose complete uncovering was undertaken by an Anglo-American expedition in 1922, which found the old temple of Sin, the moon god, in which the patriarch Abraham may once have worshipped.

The successive cities builded one upon another, whose ruins make up these city mounds (so like hills that for centuries travellers passed them by unheeding), has rendered the task of Babylonian archæologists very difficult and unrewarding. Climatic conditions have also been unfavorable to continuous work; and there are no near-by centres of supply for expeditions. Couple with this the fact of the uniform hostility of the Turkish Government, which for centuries has controlled this territory, and the comparative scantiness of archæological discovery in Mesopotamia is easily explained. With the country now under British mandate and the various Anglo-American expeditions at work, many new discoveries may be looked for in the immediate future.

(2) Egypt.

The proximity of Egypt to Europe, the favorable policy of the Egyptian Government, and the marvellous climate which has preserved intact everything, even to the tissues of the human body, have made Egypt the "Promised Land" of archæology. Moreover, the architectural remains are wondrously impressive, for the stone of which pyramids, temples, and palaces were builded has endured the action of the elements and the vandalism of man; and Luxor, Karnak, and Philæ are majestic and imposing even in their ruins. So in Egypt, in addition to the inscriptions on stone, perfectly preserved, there is also a great mass of archæological material in the form of

statuary, furniture, jewelry, etc., which fills the great museum at Cairo full to overflowing.

Excavations began with Napoleon's invasion of Egypt at the end of the eighteenth century, and among the first antiquities to be found was the famous Rosetta Stone, whose trilingual inscription proved to be the key to the ancient Egyptian language of the monuments. Champollion and Lepsius studied the pyramids and tombs of old Egypt; then the real epoch-making discoveries began when in 1850 the French savant, Mariette, went to Egypt. To him is due the exploration of Memphis, Abydos, Thebes, Denderah, and Edfu; and a monumental list of identifications of sites and uncovering of remains which qualifies him for his title of "The Father of Egyptology."

An English archæological society known as the "Egypt Exploration Fund" began work in the eighties, and under Flinders Petrie brought to light many more buried cities and remains. His greatest work was the uncovering of the old buried city, called, in modern Arabic, Tel El Amarna and once the capital of the heretic king, Ikhn-aton, the predecessor of Tut-Ankh-Amen. It is the one city of old Egypt completely uncovered in its pristine state. Its great contribution to our Bible was the finding amid its ruins of some cuneiform tablets which contained the diplomatic correspondence of the governors of Palestine with the Egyptian monarchs, and which offers us an illuminating commentary on this period of early Bible history.

The most spectacular and famous of all discoveries is, of course, the recent opening of the tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen by Howard Carter and the finding in this undisturbed tomb of the most wonderful products of the arts and crafts of old Egypt in the days of its glory. Coupled with this work in the vicinity of Luxor, the efficient labors of the permanent exploration carried out by the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York, and the work of

the University of Chicago under Breasted, have made old Thebes, with its great complex of temples and tombs, to live again after its centuries of oblivion.

One of the most important finds in modern archæology in Egypt for our Bible was made in the discovery of Christian documents in upper Egypt at the town of Oxyrhyncus. This discovery was dramatic in its surprise. Delving in the rubbish heap of the city they found scores of mummified crocodiles, which they threw aside in disgust until the chance spade of a workman pierced the dry skin of one and out poured a flood of papyrus fragments. Literally tons of such papyri were found—official documents, contracts, business accounts, private letters—a mass of literary flotsam and jetsam from which we can reconstruct the life of this long-forgotten city of the Roman Era in Egypt.

Egypt was in early times the refuge of the persecuted Christians, and here on this site in 1890 Grenfell and Hunt found among a mass of papyrus documents some fragments of a lost gospel of Jesus. The wonderful preservation, in the dry sands of Egypt, of these fragile papyri has led to other discoveries of lesser note and stimulated further explorations into what bids fair to be the most fruitful source of future material of value for our knowledge of the New Testament.

(3) Palestine.

The work of Edward Robinson in 1838 marks the real beginning of research in Palestine. His main purpose was the identification of Bible sites and the establishment of the geography of the land. This was undertaken on a very much larger scale in 1864 and 1865 by a party of Royal Engineers from England, whose survey of Jerusalem was the start of the English Palestine Exploration Fund, which for sixty years has been the chief agency for research in Palestine. One of the distinguished names connected with its earlier work was that of Lord Kit-

chener. Ernst Renan, the French scholar, also did some remarkable work in Phœnicia. In the nineties, Flinders, Petrie, and Bliss identified Lachish, and in the next year Gaza was also identified and excavated.

In recent years, ancient Jericho has been explored under Austrian auspices in 1907–1909, Samaria by Harvard University in 1908–1910, and Bethshean by Doctor Clarence Fisher, of the University of Pennsylvania. In the last two years extensive work has been done by the American School of Oriental Research at Gibeah. An American Archæological Expedition to Central and Northern Syria has supplemented the work at Baalbek carried on by a German society sponsored by the former Kaiser. Jerusalem, also, has been more thoroughly examined by expert archæologists during the twentieth century, with new identifications of walls and sites. And at present Megiddo, the ancient fortress which stood at the portal of the plain of Esdraelon, is being explored by the famous Egyptologist, Doctor Breasted, of the University of Chicago; while Doctor Frederick Bade, of the Pacific School of Religion, has identified ancient Mizpah and uncovered its walls and many historical remains.

In Palestine as a whole, however, no architectural remains of any consequence exist, owing to the fact that the land has been so repeatedly subject to destructive invasions by successive conquerors who ruthlessly burned and destroyed. So no such extensive and startling discoveries may be expected as in Egypt or Babylonia. The work of archæology in Palestine is primarily that of careful excavation for historical purposes and the positive identification of sites. In the new era under British mandate, scientific societies fully equipped for this type of work are often replacing individuals.

(4) Arabia.

This great peninsula is of especial interest because all modern ethnologists are agreed that it was the cradle of

the Semitic race, of which the Hebrews were a part. The central place of Sinai in the Old Testament is given new significance by the discoveries in Arabia by Halevy and Glaser, of many inscriptions which make plain the primitive Semitic religion, and help us to understand some of the obscure passages in the Old Testament which refer to it.

(5) Persia.

East of Babylonia lay the kingdom of old Persia, whose splendor in the days of Darius and Xerxes was the marvel of its time. To-day Susa and Persepolis are great mounds covered with sparse fragments of fallen columns. But by digging in these ruins wonderful discoveries of old Elamite art have been made, and the patient effort of scientific archæologists has made it possible to reconstruct the palace to which Hebrew literature assigns the story of Queen Esther.

It was also in Persia that at the great rock of Behistun, northeast of Babylon on the old caravan road, on a cliff side, were found a huge bas-relief and a mass of inscriptions by Rawlinson in 1835, originally placed there by Darius I of Persia. They proved to be the key to the ancient Persian and Babylonian languages.

III. The Bible and Archæology

In this last century the background of our Bible has thus been brought into the light by this new science and made vivid. The contributions of this science to our knowledge of the Bible are incalculable and to the understanding of the text, the interpretation of the history, literary forms, mental and moral elements of the whole Bible its help has been invaluable.

Some of the specific discoveries of major importance to the illumination of the Bible from the monuments are as follows:

(1) The Moabite Stone.

Discovered in 1860 by a missionary in ancient Moab, and describes the events in the reign of King Mesha of Moab, a contemporary of Ahab. It is now in the Louvre. It is an interesting commentary on II Kings 3.

(2) The Siloam Inscription.

Discovered by Doctor Schick in Jerusalem. Was once set up as a tablet describing the completion of the conduit to the Pool of Siloam. It has great value as a key to the ancient Hebrew language.

(3) Temple Inscription.

This was found by Clermont–Ganneau in 1871 and was once in Herod's Temple. It forbids all Gentiles to enter the temple enclosure on pain of death.

(4) Meneptah's Hymn.

Found by Petrie at Thebes in 1896. A hymn of Meneptah celebrating his victory over the Libyans. It contains the one reference to Israel found on the Egyptian monuments.

(5) Tel El Amarna Letters.

Found in 1889 at a site half-way between Thebes and Cairo, called by this Arabic name. It is a mass of diplomatic correspondence between the Egyptian monarchs and their governors in Palestine, written about 1400 B. C. It shows that Babylonian was the official language of Palestine at that time and also reveals how thickly settled the land was before the coming of the Hebrews.

(6) The Epic of Gilgamesh.

This ancient Babylonian epic poem in several cantos, an elaborate piece of literature, celebrating the exploits and wanderings of Gilgamesh, the Babylonian Hercules, contains much that parallels our early chapters of Genesis, notably the story of the deluge. It was found in Nineveh and is now in the British Museum.

(7) Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II.

Found by Layard in 1846 at Nineveh. Erected by Shalmaneser II to commemorate his victories. Mentions Jehu as paying him tribute (II Kings 9–10).

(8) The Inscriptions of Sennacherib.

Found at Nineveh. Record in some detail his conquests of the seacoast of Palestine and mention his victory over Hezekiah of Judah (II Kings 18–19).

(9) Inscriptions of Sargon and Tiglath–Pileser III.

Among the cuneiform tablets of Babylonia were found records of the conquests of these two monarchs in Palestine, and their details confirm our Bible history in a startling way.

(10) Code of Hammurabi.

Found at Susa in 1902. A complete set of laws created by Hammurabi, the founder of the Babylonian Empire in 1950 B. C. It is the most valuable find in all the history of archæology. It has special interest in its relation to the Mosaic law.

(11) The Oxyrhynchus Gospels.

These gospels already described are of very great value to the knowledge of the New Testament Greek.

Besides these major finds, much work has been done in the discovery of ancient churches and tombs in Syria and Egypt, in the study of inscriptions in the catacombs at Rome, in the search for and discovery of large masses of papyri of New Testament books and primitive Christian documents, and in the scientific exploration of the New Testament cities—Rome, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus, Jerusalem. Even the uncovering of such a city as Pompeii brings into bold relief the actual life in which the New Testament came into being.

As a source to furnish additional literary material to supplement our Bible, as a means to restore the vivid sense of the real conditions of the successive nations whose

thought and life were the environment of our Bible authors, as a light to illuminate obscure passages and help to answer innumerable questions found on almost every page of our Bible, the science of archæology has rendered a great service. With the new era upon which it now enters no man knows what day some new discovery may startle the world.

CHAPTER II

THE RECORDS OF THE PAST

I. The Origin of Language

The study of prehistoric mankind has revealed the fact that human life began not less than 25,000 years ago. The implements of the Palæolithic period created by primitive man show the dawn of the human mind seeking to adapt natural resources to its use. At the same time during this earliest period language must have arisen, the attempt to express thought by signs, then by speech. One by one, words were found which were probably originally imitative sounds like "buzz," "roar," etc., associated with things or acts named. Very slowly the vocabulary of man increased and with it, of course, the social life and the power of human co-operation, and by the time history begins we find a group of highly developed languages in existence. Philologists distinguish three main groups, each with its own structural form—Aryan, Semitic, and Hamitic languages. The Greek language of our New Testament belongs to the Aryan group, the Hebrew of the Old Testament to the Semitic group.

II. The Invention of Writing

The most important forward step for mankind, and that which really initiated civilization, was the invention of writing. By this means thought and speech could be given permanent form, and could be passed from one individual or people to another or from one generation to another. So culture was spread, and each generation builded upon the foundation of literature its predecessor had left it. The written word was the prime factor of human progress.

III. The Evolution of Writing

The earliest form of writing was the attempt to draw pictures of things and objects, the rudiments of art. As early as 25,000 B. C., in caves in various parts of Europe, we find such rude carvings and drawings of men and animals, some of which were even colored to resemble the object presented. This, then, is the earliest method of transcribing thought, and this picture-writing, helped out by strokes and dots, is still in use by savages like our American Indians. Traces of these pictographs are still seen in the Chinese writing of to-day.

The next stage was the rise of ideographs by which, through the combination of these picture-signs, ideas could be expressed. The best example of this is in ancient Egypt, whose hieroglyphics are all pictographs.

Then, by a very easily understood transition, these symbols became monosyllabic sounds and are called phonograms. The pictographs, somewhat modified by additional signs, can thus be made to express abstract ideas. This rather complex system of writing has until very recently been in use in China.

Later we find in Egypt that the picture system was so modified as to be written in an abbreviated and flowing form for letter-writing, called hieratic script. In certain Egyptian inscriptions we find side by side the hieroglyphic and the more convenient hieratic.

Along with this in old Egypt arose another script, now lost, but which was taken over and developed by the Phœnicians for business purposes, in which the signs lost all their pictorial character, ceased to be pictographic or ideographic, and became a pure sound-sign system—*the alphabet.*

Other nations adopted this latter development of writing and by the time of the early civilization many such alphabets were in use.

IV. The Records of the Past

Civilization is defined by Wells as "the settlement of men upon one area continuously cultivated and possessed, who live in buildings continuously inhabitated." Until such real civilization began, the existence of literature or the written records of thought and life could not exist in any large degree. But with civilization in various centres, there grew up an amazing volume of literature or written records.

Some of these records of the past, as seen on monuments and temples, on inscribed tablets and pillars, in fragments of ancient manuscripts, etc., have been known to the world for centuries. But in our day this rather scanty collection of ancient literary remains has been vastly augmented by archæology, which has unearthed the buried civilizations and brought to light immense finds of a literary character, of Greek, Roman, Persian, Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian thought. This vast mass of literary material is now in our hands and its revelations of the thought and life of the past are revolutionary in character.

V. The Keys to the Library of Antiquity

For a long time these literary discoveries of archæology were valueless because we could not read them. The keys to those ancient records were lost and scholars despaired of ever being able to read them, just as to-day certain Central and South American inscriptions are still unintelligible. But one by one the keys were found to unlock the libraries of antiquity.

(1) The Rosetta Stone.

This was discovered by a French artillery officer in 1799 at Rosetta, a village at the mouth of the Nile. It is now in the British Museum.

It was written during the rule of Ptolemy V (B. C. 205–182). He had conferred great benefits on the priesthood, and in gratitude they decreed at Memphis that a statue of the king should be set up in each temple, and beneath it should be placed a basalt monument inscribed in hieroglyphic, hieratic, and Coptic characters. (Coptic is Egyptian written in Greek.) And one of those tablets was this Rosetta Stone. A comparison of these parallel inscriptions in ancient Egyptian and Greek enabled a great French scholar, Champollion, to decipher most of the hieroglyphics, and thus the Rosetta Stone proved the key to the ancient Egyptian language.

(2) The Behistun Inscription.

On a great rock in Persian Kurdistan which once bordered a great highway of antiquity is an immense cuneiform inscription, made by Darius I of Persia, in 516 B. C., to commemorate his victories. This was a trilingual inscription in Persian, Susian, and Babylonian cuneiform. Sir Henry Rawlinson had made such a careful study of Zend, the oldest Persian dialect, that he ultimately was able to read the ancient Persian inscription in 1846, and from this the old Babylonian language was ultimately recovered for the world.

(3) The Siloam Inscription.

This was found in 1880 in Jerusalem in a conduit near the Pool of Siloam. It is an inscription recording the completion of this conduit and dates from the time of Hezekiah. It proved to be the key to the ancient Hebrew language.

(4) The Oxyrhynchus Papyri.

These documents are intensely human and reveal as in a mirror the life of this era in Upper Egypt. For example, a little boy named Theon writes thus to his father, who has gone to Alexandria and left him at home: "It is a fine thing not to take me with you to the city. If you don't take me next time I won't write you a letter or

speak to you or say good-by to you." Another man writes to his brother (in A. D. 22): "Let me hear how our bald-headed friend is getting on and whether his hair is growing again on top." There was found a dinner invitation, which corresponds quite closely to our modern social forms: "Charemon requests your company at dinner at the table of the Lord Serapis to-morrow, the fifteenth, at nine o'clock."

There are now in the British Museum literally thousands of these papyri. And the interesting and valuable fact for our study of the Bible is that the language of these documents, which is that of the common man, with its colloquialisms and even slang, is exactly identical with the Greek of the New Testament. Of the five thousand words in the New Testament, nearly half are written in this "Koine," or popular language, and many of these words which were not found in classical Greek have been for centuries a puzzle to New Testament textual scholars. For much of the New Testament was as different from the great Greek classics in style and vocabularly as "Pilgrim's Progress" is from Macaulay's Essays. These documents showed that our New Testament was a "people's book," written in the language of the peasant and working man, in the dialect of the common home and the shop.

Many hitherto doubtful words suddenly became clear. The word translated "spiritual" (I Peter 2:2, "spiritual milk") was found in the papyri to mean "unadulterated." The strange word translated "buffet" (I Cor. 9:27) is a bit of slang meaning literally the "punch" which the boxer gives his opponent in the prize-ring. And the titles of the New Testament church officers "prophet" and "presbyter" were given to pagan priests in Egypt, while "episcopos" or "bishop" was the title of an official in a trades-union. And the strange Greek word "logia" (I Cor. 16:1) was the term for the "collection" levied by these trades-unions on their members.

All this is very interesting and helps us to understand

that even the very language of our New Testament was the product of daily life rather than of the schools.

VI. The Records of Hebrew Thought and Life

Like all ancient people, the developing thought and life of the Hebrews left a residuum of literature, and modern scholarship has been able to trace its development. The large part of the Hebrew literature is comprised in our present Old Testament.

(1) Its earliest literature was created in the form of folk poetry which was finally collected into books, which are now lost but from which we have many quotations in our Old Testament. Such books as the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah" (Num. 21:14,15) and the "Book of Jashar" (Josh. 10:12, 13) are among these collected odes of traditional times. Just when writing began, we do not know, but probably between 1200 and 1000 B. C.

(2) The Creative Age of Poetic and Prophetic Composition was from 1050–800 B. C. During this time the earlier histories and codes were composed, the lyrics created, and the prophetic narratives begun.

(3) The Classical Age of Hebrew Literature extended from 750–586 B. C. It was a time of the work and teachings of the great prophets and the creation of the bulk of the law and history.

(4) With the Exile came the Age of Compilation, extending to 400 B. C., a time in which the priesthood was dominant and where the interest was in the past and its traditions and sanctions.

(5) The last period of this era was the Age of Editing and Canonization, during which the Old Testament received its final form and the completion of the collections of law, history, proverbial philosophy, and poetry was consummated.

(6) In addition to the books of our present Old Testa-

ment, this last period also produced the so-called Apocrypha, which was for a long time part of the Old Testament Scriptures in many editions. With the addition of the many apocalypses of the later era, the above list comprises the complete literary record of Hebrew thought and life which has come down to us to-day.

VII. The Records of Early Christian Thought and Life

(1) The Gospels.

Jesus himself, so far as we know, wrote nothing nor did his disciples during his lifetime. But during the years 30–40 A. D. there grew up in Palestine oral traditions of Jesus' life circulated in Aramaic, the vernacular of Palestine, and, as time went on and as Christianity spread abroad, other similar traditions were circulated in the Greek tongue. These were later reduced to a common oral tradition current among all Christians, and this work has been ascribed to Peter's influence. Still later, in Palestine, some writer collected Jesus' sayings; and the first written Christian literature consisted of "Logia" or sayings, written in Aramaic and attributed traditionally to Matthew.

Then one by one the present Gospels came into being during the years 50–90 A. D. in this order—Mark, Matthew, Luke, John. The first three are called the synoptic Gospels. Luke also wrote, at a later time than the Gospel, the Book of Acts.

(2) The Epistles.

In this same period there were written one by one the letters of the Apostle Paul, beginning with Thessalonians and closing with Timothy. From the latter part of the same period come also the Epistles of James, Peter, and John.

(3) Revelation.

From this same late era comes this strange book, akin to so much previous apocalyptic literature of Judaism.

(4) The Early Christian Writings.

Of recent years archæology has recovered for us larger knowledge of a great mass of extant Christian literature known only through scanty references, much of which was accepted by the church as equally valuable with our New Testament, such as "The Shepherd of Hermas" and "The Epistle of Barnabas."

"The Teachings of the Apostles," "The Epistle of the Apostles," "The Odes of Solomon," and a host of similar pieces of literature from the first three Christian centuries have thrown a flood of light on the early church, its life, creeds, customs, etc., and so have been of immense value in the study of our New Testament.

(5) The New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

Besides this literature already referred to are a number of works such as Apocryphal Gospels, Christian Apocalypses, and the like, which came into existence in this same period and had wide reading in the early church.

It is out of this mass of Christian literature which in its totality represents the record of the thought and life of early Christianity that our New Testament was finally chosen in its present form.

VIII. The Text of the Old Testament

(1) Our modern study of the text of the Old Testament by painstaking philologists and palæographers makes it plain that the original of a large part of the Old Testament was written in the Hebrew language. It possesses certain characteristics that make it noteworthy:—(*a*) Its simplicity and naturalness. It is concrete rather than

abstract, the language of the childhood of mankind. (*b*) Its rhythmic beauty. Its wealth of synonyms forms the basis of its poetry, which has parallelism of thought rather than structure, and so the whole literature is essentially poetic throughout. (*c*) Its majesty and sublimity, since it is serious rather than fanciful in all its literary expression. (*d*) Its life and fervor. It is singularly fitted to express emotion.

(2) The old Hebrew largely disappeared during the exilic and post-exilic periods, and the earlier books of the Old Testament were no longer written in Hebrew but, in common with the latest books, were written in Aramaic.

This was the language of the Jews all through the Persian, Roman, and Greek periods. It was in this language that much of the Talmud and later Jewish literature was written. It was a Semitic language commonly used in Syria and Mesopotamia in commerce and so was gradually adopted by the Jews. It was the language in which Jesus and the apostles spoke and many traces of it are found in the New Testament, such as Jesus' words on the cross. Aramaic is brief, abrupt, legal, precise, and definite, the language of lawyer and pedagogue.

The curious fact about the Old Testament text which has created a vast mass of problems for textual criticism is that the Hebrew was a consonantal language, only the consonants being written, the vowels being inserted as it was read.

So it was necessary to create a tradition as to what vowels should be inserted and perpetuated. This was intrusted to the scribes who grew up during the exile, and who were scholars who determined the readings and passed them on to the next generation.

This continued until the sixth century A. D., when the Massorites, a group of scholars, began to write them into the text. But until the seventh century A. D. no Hebrew manuscript was written with vowels.

It is obvious that such a curious method of writing admitted of endless variations. So, for example, one Hebrew word of four consonants might be read, by the insertion of different vowels:—"and he dwelt," "and he returned," "and he brought back," or "and he took captive."

So our Old Testament text presents thousands of cases where we shall never be sure of the exact original reading of a text.

IX. The Text of the New Testament

The earliest sources of our Gospels were written, as we have seen, in Aramaic, but this was soon translated into Greek, and it is in Greek that the extant New Testament as a whole is written.

The Greek language was the masterpiece of Aryan thought, the most perfect language of the ancient world. It is complex and artistic. In its precision it is the ideal language of abstract thought, and is characterized by attention to style and form. The Greek of the New Testament is not, however, the classic Greek, for, as we have seen, we now know from the papyrus discoveries in Egypt that it was the vernacular or common dialect Greek of the time.

No such difficulties of reading and interpretation exist for the student of the New Testament as in the case of the Old Testament, since that language was written, after our modern fashion, with consonants and vowels. But there are some problems created by the fact that the oldest manuscripts are written in capital letters or "uncials" without any space between the words. Thus John 1:1 would be written INTHEBEGINNINGWASTHE WORDANDTHEWORDWASWITHGODAND THEWORDWASGOD. So it was necessary to separate the words, and sometimes we are not sure how this should be done. When we add to this the further fact that many abbreviations were used because the writing material was

expensive and the copyists wished to save space, we see that there are opportunities for errors and uncertainties as to the exact meaning. So here, as in the case of the Old Testament, an absolutely perfect original text is something which we do not possess.

CHAPTER III

THE EPIC OF A BOOK

I. The Evolution of the Art of Writing

The oldest known method of writing was the rude sketches and drawings of the early races of mankind on walls of caves and the exposed surfaces of rocks. Then with the dawn of civilization and the invention of alphabets or word-signs, a more elaborate use was made of stone as a writing material. On the walls of temples, on the bases of statues, on the entrances and walls of tombs, on private buildings and places of religious or civic use, inscriptions were cut with engraving instruments, and these form an almost imperishable record of the past. Especially in Egypt was this art of writing developed in the days of the great Pharaohs, and the patience and skill of these early scribes merit our sincerest admiration.

But such writing was not portable, but fixed and permanent, and so in commercial Babylonia, to meet its needs, a new kind of writing was developed. Here, out of the abundant clay of old Mesopotamia, they fashioned by the thousands small tablets on which with wedge-shaped (cuneiform) stamps they impressed the writing. Some of this work is so finely done that it needs a magnifying-glass to read it. These tablets were used by business houses of Babylonia, and were inclosed in clay envelopes addressed to the consignee. They are found in vast numbers in the mounds of old Babylonia. However, they were both cumbersome and fragile.

The next advance in writing was made in Egypt about 4500 B. C. Here the inner bark of the papyrus plant called "byblos" (from which we get our word "Bible") was cut into strips, laid transversely, subjected to heat

and pressure, and became the "papyrus" of the ancients (from which we get our word "paper"). It was manufactured in quantities and shipped all over the world. It was made into strips 9 or 10 inches wide and from 20 to 144 feet long, and the writing was done with pen and ink. It was light and convenient, and so became very popular, especially in Greece and Rome. All the original classic manuscripts of the writers of these countries were written on papyrus. It was also on this material that our New Testament manuscripts were made. It had one disadvantage only, its ultimate disintegration by the hand of time. It became so fragile when it was very old that it was both brittle and perishable, and to this fact we owe the loss of many valuable ancient manuscripts.

Then the next advance came from Pergamum. Egypt had for the time being put a ban on the exportation of papyrus. The use of skins or leather as writing material was anciently known, but these tanned skins were anything but desirable. So the Pergamenes created the art (without tanning) of cleaning and preparing such skins to produce a smooth, beautiful writing material called "pergamene," which word in time became "parchment." (It is also known as "vellum" or calfskin, but not properly, since "parchment" was made from sheepskin, a name still applied to college diplomas, which, copying the custom of the mediæval universities, are supposedly made of this material.) This new material, which could be written on both sides, was tough and practically indestructible, and, by scraping, could be used over again in what was called a "palimpsest." It came into general use everywhere from 175 B. C. onwards, and by the end of the third Christian century had almost supplanted the papyrus. This writing material was usually mounted on two rollers, and from this fact received the name of roll, "volumen" (from which we get the word "volume"). It was upon this material that the Jews wrote their synagogue rolls, and

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on it all the Old Testament manuscripts were written. It was also the material upon which the copies of the original papyrus New Testament manuscripts were made, and the only extant New Testament manuscripts we possess are written on vellum. It was also used as material for all the later biblical manuscripts, so that, until the invention of modern paper and the printing-press, all our biblical and classical manuscripts were written on this material.

II. The Writing of the Biblical Manuscripts

(1) The Old Testament Manuscripts.

The scribes who wrote and copied our Old Testament wrote each sacred writing on a separate roll. As already narrated, these original rolls up to the time of the post-exilic period in the third pre-Christian century were written in the old Hebrew. Then during the time of oppression and persecution these originals in Palestine were all destroyed, and only copies in Aramaic were preserved in Babylonia and Egypt. By the time of the Maccabees (150 B. C.) all the Old Testament manuscripts were written in Aramaic.

The scribes became a special class in later Judaism, and their work was deemed especially sacred. The Talmud gives the most minute and positive directions as to the exact method of the copyist's work, which were so scrupulously observed that only minor variations occurred in the copying of the Old Testament scriptures from century to century. As already indicated, the consonantal text prevailed until the sixth or seventh century A. D. Then the first text with the Massoretic vowel points was made. Unfortunately, owing to persecution and like causes, very few Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament are in existence, and the oldest extant is of the date 916 A. D. Only the scrupulous exactitude of the copyists, who transmitted the text to us through a period of over 1,000 years, insures the accuracy of our Old Testament scripture.

(2) The New Testament Manuscripts.

The original copies of the New Testament books were written on papyrus. This art as practised by the Greek scribes had at that time reached a high degree of perfection. Some of the early Christians were people of means, like Theophilus (Acts 1:1), who financed for his private use the writing by Luke of the third gospel, and Acts. Some of the earliest copies of the New Testament books from the originals were thus probably made by professional writers. On account of the cost of papyrus and its narrowness, the writing was usually done in two narrow columns, and this custom was continued for some centuries, even after vellum came to be universally used. The change from papyrus to vellum took place gradually during the first three Christian centuries, and while after 300 A. D. papyrus continued to be used for less costly copies for several centuries, the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs in the sixth century put an end to its use by the world. The later copies of the New Testament were written on this vellum, which was of the finest quality and was in use from the fourth century onward. Especially noteworthy is the fact that Constantine in that century ordered fifty copies of the Scriptures made on vellum by the finest scribes, for use of the churches in his empire. This writing was in parallel columns, in square uncial characters (capitals), written so evenly as to resemble a printed page of to-day. No attempt was made at separation of words, phrases, or chapters, nor was there any punctuation. Many abbreviations also occur. The extant Greek manuscripts of the New Testament are wonderful examples of beautiful workmanship, and are perfectly legible after all these centuries. There are a number of these Greek New Testament manuscripts in existence, the most important of which will be mentioned later.

As time went on, the old method of writing in uncials or capitals was supplanted by cursive or minuscule writ-

ing, a small running hand. Obviously, to produce such a manuscript was less difficult and costly than the making of uncials, so from the eighth century onward it came into use in order to produce cheaper copies for general circulation, and the comparative abundance of this type of manuscript is shown in the fact that we possess to-day only two hundred uncial manuscripts of the New Testament and over three thousand minuscules or cursives.

(3) The Monasteries and the Manuscripts.

The translation of the whole Bible into Latin by Jerome, made in the fourth century, which was adopted officially by the church, made natural in later times the transition from Greek and Hebrew to Latin copies of the entire Bible. These were created in large numbers from the tenth century onward in the monasteries, and the most elaborate and luxurious copies were produced and illuminated by skilled monks. The book headings were made into pictures, capital letters were elaborated in colors, illustrations were placed in the margins and at the bottom of the pages, and the illuminated manuscripts of this period are gorgeous beyond words, with their purple and silver, and gold, and many colors. Some of these copies took a lifetime to produce. To walk through the room in the British Museum in which these illuminated manuscripts are found (the finest collection of the kind in the world) is to the book-lover an hour of rapture. For before him is the most perfect product of the art of calligraphy, which even our modern devices of illustration and printing cannot equal. These Bibles of the mediæval era are to be found in all the great libraries and museums of the world.

III. The Evolution of the Book

(1) The Making of the Book.

It was in the third Christian century, when vellum came into general use, that the roll gave place to the book. The Bible was largely responsible for this change, for it took

so many rolls to contain a complete copy of our Scriptures (thirty or forty, at least), that the change was made to the "codex" as it was called, a name applied to this form when first used for law books by the Romans. In this form the entire Bible could be comprised in a single book.

The vellum of which the book was composed was folded into leaves in quires (Latin quaternus—"four") of four leaves, later doubled into eight. Lines were ruled on the vellum with a blunt instrument. The writing was arranged in two to four columns to the page.

(2) The Art of Binding.

The earliest books in Roman times in the fourth and fifth centuries were enclosed in parchment envelopes or wrappers. Later in Irish monasteries this was elaborated into a satchel of leather or a box of wood or metal. Then in the mediæval era real binding came into existence, consisting of oak boards covered with leather. In the twelfth and succeeding centuries these became elaborate affairs, hand-tooled in patterns and designs. In later times Italy and France brought this art to its highest pitch of perfection. Most of the books so beautifully bound were copies of the Bible.

The business of book production was followed extensively in the late mediæval era when libraries were created and groups of book-makers were formed into guilds. The most famous guild was at Bruges in Belgium, and included illuminators, painters of vignettes, parchment and vellum makers, letter and figure painters, book-cover engravers and carvers, copiers of books, bookbinders, and booksellers.

(3) The Invention of Printing.

Printing by means of wooden blocks is said to have been originated by the Chinese. It was unknown to Europe, however, until the early middle ages, when block books were produced, the most famous being the "Biblia Pau-

perum," a book of Bible scenes printed by hand from wooden blocks in the twelfth century.

Printing from movable types is thought to have originated with a man called Johann Gutenberg, who lived in Mainz in Germany. The first book issued from his press was a copy of the Bible, printed in 1456. It contained 641 leaves in two columns to the page, and the initial chapter and divisional letters were not printed but illuminated by hand. The types were in Gothic or black letter, and were made of metal, and were good imitations of the kind of letters used at that time in manuscript Bibles. About a hundred copies were printed, a third on vellum, the rest on paper, but from this time on paper was almost exclusively used for printed Bibles.

From Mainz the art quickly spread all over Germany, and thence over all Europe, and by the end of the fifteenth century eighteen countries were printing books. Most of these were Bibles, and yet we must not imagine that this meant a general circulation, as most of the editions were of less than two hundred copies, and the price was enormous. The copies were bought by churches, by royalty, and by very rich men only. It was the Reformation that created the Bible for the common people.

(4) The Evolution of the Printed Bible.

The four hundred years of development of the art of printing have made the modern Bible a consummate work of art, and it is still noteworthy that the veneration for the book that made the mediæval monk illuminate it, has led the modern book-maker to regard the Bible as the acme of book-making and binding.

Certain minutiæ of the printed page of this modern Bible, which are often puzzling to the Bible student, deserve mention for his information:

(a) *The Headings of Books.*

These were not in the original manuscripts but are the

product of the traditions and speculations of later ages as to authorship. They have no real authority.

(b) *Chapter Interpretations.*

The summary of contents which stands at the head of the chapter in the Authorized Version is largely the product of the post-Reformation school of allegorical and mystical commentators, and is in many cases misleading. It has been dropped in the Revised Verson.

(c) *Chapter Divisions.*

These are purely arbitrary and are not found in the original texts. They were made by Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1227, and were introduced into editions of the Bible after his death.

(d) *Verse Divisions.*

These were made by Robert Stephens during a journey from Paris to Lyons in 1546. They were first used in his edition of the Bible in 1551. From this they were copied in the Geneva Bible of 1560 and subsequently in the Authorized Version of 1611. They are convenient for reference but largely destroy the literary value of the Scriptures.

(e) *Marginal Dates.*

The dates in the margin of the Authorized Version were made by Archbishop Ussher two hundred and fifty years ago. His chronology is utterly obsolete and valueless. They have been dropped in the Revised Version.

(f) *Italics.*

The italics which are found in the text of the Bible indicate that there are certain words or phrases missing in the original, which the italicized words are an attempt to supply in order to complete the sense.

(g) *Marginal Notes.*

These have been added by modern scholarship and are of great value to the student. They are of two kinds:

Cross references; indicated in the body of the text by small letters in italics.

Notes; indicated in the body of the text by Arabic numerals. Some of them give a literal translation of the Hebrew and Greek words. Others give the alternative readings and are prefaced by "or."

IV. The Books Become the Book

At this point it will be of value to note briefly the process by which our Bible with its sixty-six books was selected out of a much larger literature and declared to be so much a unity that it could be called a book.

(1) The Creation of the Canon.

The word "canon" means rule or standard, and as applied to the Bible means that collection of literature which is regarded by the Christian church as standardized and authoritative as its sacred book.

The formation of our biblical canon was a slow and gradual process. Probably not one of the biblical authors ever thought that his writing would be cherished for all time, nor did the people for whom the books were written realize their immortal values. But gradually, as time went on, out of the mass of writings created by religious genius, certain ones came to be more and more venerated and regarded as authoritative, and so from time to time collections of such books were made by various individuals and groups but without a general agreement as to the particular books to be included. Finally, usually under church sanction, official meetings of religious leaders and scholars indorsed a single collection of these books and gave them consent and authority. And this single collection is our present Bible. It was thus by a long process of discussion and selection, and as a result of intrinsic value, that our Bible came into being.

(2) The Formation of the Old Testament Canon.

With this general process in mind we now turn first to

the formation of the Old Testament canon, which had three stages:

(a) *The Recognition of the "Law"* (444 *B. C.*).

In Nehemiah 8 is the historical record of the first recognition of a set of books as canonical. They were our Pentateuch, called by the Hebrews, "The Law."

(b) *The Recognition of the "Prophets"* (250 *B. C.*).

We have no exact date as to when these books were recognized, but the approximate date is 250 B. C. The collection included our present prophetical books (except Daniel) and in addition Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

(c) *The Recognition of the "Writings"* (90 *A. D.*).

At the Council of Jamnia (90 A. D.) there was recognized a third group of books—the "Writings," including Job, Proverbs, Song of Solomon, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, and Daniel. It is interesting to note that this third group is not regarded as authoritative in the New Testament. Jesus refers to the "Law and Prophets" as equivalent to the Old Testament and alludes to the Psalms. The New Testament does not quote from Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Ezra, Nehemiah, or Esther. At the same council the whole Old Testament as we have it was officially approved as canonical. This Palestinian Collection of the Hebrew Scriptures differed from the Alexandrian Collection (the Greek translation of the Scripture called the Septuagint), which contained the Apocrypha in addition to the present Old Testament books. Both collections were in use in Jesus' day among the Jews, as is evidenced by the fact that the New Testament quotes from the Apocrypha as well as from the present Old Testament (Jude 9, 14).

(3) The Formation of the New Testament Canon.

The only Bible known to the early church was the Old Testament. Only gradually did the writings of Christian leaders and authors come to be regarded as of equal value.

In this process of canonization, the test of each book was apostolicity, *i. e.*, evidence of direct connection with the apostles. The original writings of this character were all completed by the end of the first Christian century.

(a) *The Recognition of the Gospels* (125 *A. D.*).

This was achieved by the year 125 A. D., as evidenced by the writings of Justin Martyr and Tatian (160 A. D.).

(b) *The Recognition of the Pauline Epistles* (175 *A. D.*).

The thirteen epistles of Paul had by the end of the second century gained general recognition by the church.

(c) *The Recognition of the Catholic Epistles and Revelation* (135–397 *A. D.*).

As will be seen this was a slow and gradual process. By the end of the second century only two books of this group, I Peter and I John, had been generally accepted. This is known from the lists in the Syrian Canon, the Bible of the Eastern Church, and the Muratorian Canon, the Bible of the Western Church, both compiled about 200 A. D. The writings of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and Eusebius show that even in 300 A. D. the canon of the New Testament was not yet fixed, that many non-canonical books, like the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Epistle of Clement, were equally venerated with our present New Testament books; and that at least seven New Testament books were still in dispute—James, Jude, II and III John, II Peter, Hebrews, and Revelation.

(4) The Formation of the Biblical Canon.

Successive church councils, Laodicea (360 A. D.), Hippo (393 A. D.), and Carthage (397 A. D.), discussed the matter of the canon, and the last council, under the influence of Augustine, decided on the present books of our Bible plus the present books of the Apocrypha.

But no final and fixed determination was ever made and

although custom led to the use of this Carthaginian Canon in the Western Church, it was still not finally settled and books like Esther, Revelation, and the Old Testament Apocrypha were in more or less dispute even to the time of the Reformation.

V. The Great Biblical Manuscripts

The oldest and most valuable of the manuscripts of our Bible are found only in the Greek copies of the originals. The old Hebrew Bible has so completely disappeared that the oldest copy we possess is the St. Petersburg Codex (916 A. D.). To the scholarship of the world the value of such biblical manuscripts depends on their age and so their nearness to the originals in point of time. Of these extant Greek manuscripts of the Bible, the three most valuable are:

(1) The Alexandrian Codex.

This was written in the fifth century. It was in the possession of the Patriarch of Alexandria until 1628, when he presented it to Charles I of England. It is now in the British Museum. It is in four volumes, written in double columns on vellum, and is almost complete. Its contents are:

(*a*) Our Old Testament, plus the Books of Maccabees, Tobit Judith, I and II Esdras, Ecclesiasticus, and the Wisdom of Solomon.

(*b*) Our New Testament, plus I and II Epistles of Clement.

(2) The Vatican Codex.

This was written in the early fourth century. It is now in the Vatican Library at Rome. No one knows anything of its history. It was long kept from scholars, but was finally studied and reproduced in facsimile in 1890. It is written on vellum in three columns. Its contents are:

(*a*) Our Old Testament, plus the larger part of the Apocrypha.

(*b*) The New Testament, minus I and II Timothy, Titus, and Revelation.

(3) The Sinaitic Codex.

This was written in the late fourth century, on vellum, in four columns. It was found by Tischendorf, a German scholar, at the monastery of St. Catherine at the foot of Mount Sinai, in 1844 and 1859, and the story of its discovery is a veritable romance.

Tischendorf had spent his life in the quest of biblical manuscripts, and by months of hard work succeeded in securing the permission to search through the library of this old monastery for such manuscripts. On his first visit in 1844 he found a few sheets that he was convinced were from the oldest and most valuable biblical manuscript he had ever seen. By years of urging and diplomacy he succeeded, in 1859, in getting a permit for a second visit. This time he made a more thorough search, but did not find the remainder of the manuscript. But he had made a warm friend of one of the monks, who, just at the eleventh hour, as his permit had almost expired, brought him a huge roll, which to his delight he recognized as the much-wanted copy of the Bible. The outer leaves had been used to light morning fires in the monastery! Thus, in this dramatic way, was found one of the most valuable copies of the Bible in our possession to-day. It was presented to Alexander II of Russia, who in 1862 caused it to be published, and it is to-day in the city of Leningrad. Its contents are:

(*a*) Our Old Testament, almost complete, and most of the Apocrypha.

(*b*) Our New Testament, plus the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas.

It is upon these great manuscripts as a basis, and by comparing them with other manuscripts and versions, that the text of our present Bible has been constructed.

CHAPTER IV

THE BIBLE BEFORE THE BIBLE

The Bible is not the only record of the divine revelation to man, and no one race has been the sole recipient of God's spirit. Although later Judaism denied this, in a spirit of exclusivism and narrowness which some Christians have adopted in their attitude toward other religions, yet the Bible explicitly states more than once this fact of a universal and age-long revelation. Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Paul, and Jesus affirm it plainly. For no matter how far back one goes in time or how far afield he wanders in human history, religion is everywhere in evidence. For there is a genetic unity in all religions and God has been revealing himself ever since time began.

The evolutionary idea helps one to understand the plain fact which a candid examination of the Bible reveals, that the Bible was not given to man (like the golden plates of Joseph Smith) complete and perfect, but grew up gradually in the Hebrew life. And back of that evolution thus recorded in its pages lies an antecedent history of the development of the religious consciousness which began long before Abraham. For the Hebrews were not born in a moment as a nation, but came out of racial affinities and historical relations to the peoples who were their spiritual as well as physical forebears and moulders.

And the new view of revelation also helps one to accept the idea of the universal revealing of God. For revelation can no longer be conceived as an objective communication of God to man, *i. e.*, not man finding out God, but God discovering himself to man. For it is not through external agencies but in and through personality that God is revealed. "Revelation is a divine illumination from within and not a communication from without" (Bade). "The

religious progress of the race means an ever-deepening experience of the incoming of this advanced reality into life and a progressively larger interpretation of the meaning of this experience" (Evans).

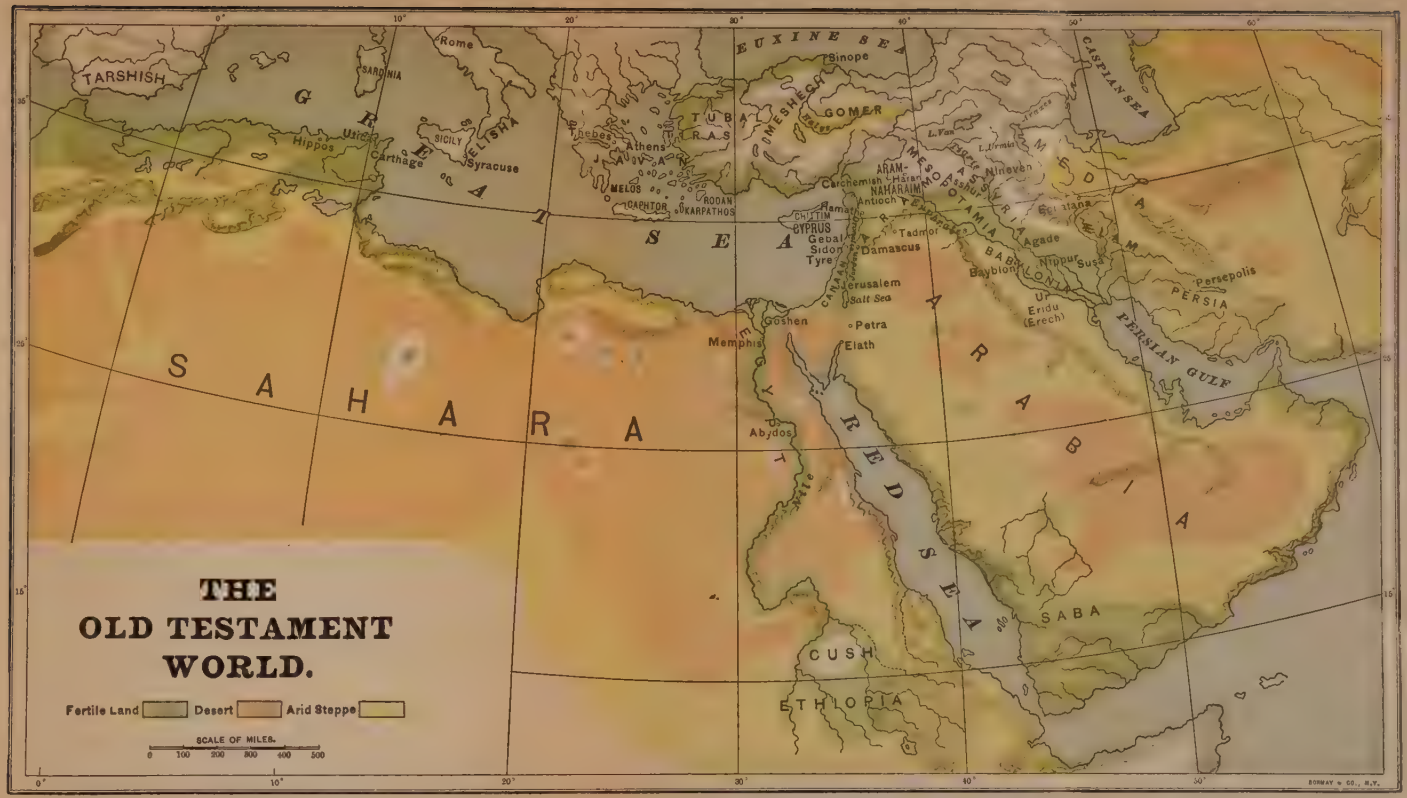
There is in Scripture no narrative to record this preceding religious history, but its existence is witnessed by many hints and allusions, survivals and vestiges, in word, tradition, poetry, and custom, that show that the Hebrews owed much to those who had blazed the religious trail for them. These are chapters in divine revelation that long antedate the first chapter of Genesis. So it need cause no surprise to say that, since Hebrew history is comparatively late and its records do not begin much before 1000 B. C., we have truly a "Bible before the Bible," viz., the record of the religious experiences of mankind in the ages before the Hebrew national life began.

That "Bible of the Race" began to be written by primitive man at the dawn of time, and the shrines, tombs, altars, etc., of prehistoric man may be said to be the more or less inarticulate record of this early revelation of God in human consciousness. But for the really complete record one must needs come down to historic times, to find that civilization has its beginnings almost simultaneously in two river valleys—that of the Nile and that of the Euphrates. Which of the two civilizations is the older, is still in dispute, but both were highly developed by 5000 B. C.

I. The Revelation of God in Egypt

(1) The History of Egypt.

Egypt is a river-bed fifty miles wide and four hundred miles long, a ribbon of fertility run through a waste of sand. Herodotus rightly called Egypt the "gift of the Nile," for the Nile with its annual overflow created its rich alluvial soil and made it the granary of the ancient world.


THE
OLD TESTAMENT
WORLD.
Fertile Land
Desert
Arid Steppe
SCALE OF MILES.
0 100 200 300 400 500
TARSHISH
SARDINIA
Rome
GREECE
SICILY
SELISHA
Hippos
Utica
Carthage
Syracuse
Rhodes
Athens
MELOS
CAPHTOR
RODAN
KARPATHOS
TUBAL
MESHECH
EUXINE SEA
Sinope
GOMER
CASPIAN SEA
ARAM-
NAHARAIM
Carchemish
Haran
Antioch
ASSYRIA
Nineveh
MESOPOTAMIA
MEDIA
Ecbatana
CHITTIM
CYPRUS
Gebal
Sidon
Tyre
Ramah
Tadmor
Damascus
Agade
BABYLONIA
Nippur
Susa
Persepolis
PERSIA
Jerusalem
Salt Sea
Baybion
Ur
Eridu
(Erech)
PERSIAN GULF
CANAAN
Goshen
Petra
Memphis
Elath
EGYPT
Abydos
SAHARA
ARABIA
RED SEA
SABA
CUSH
ETHIOPIA
BORMAN & CO., N.Y.

(a) *Prehistoric Period* (12,000 *B. C.*–4500 *B. C.*).

Recent discoveries in the Fayum basin have enabled historians to reconstruct the history of prehistoric Egypt. Petrie conjectures that its early inhabitants came from the Caucasus region; others hold that they were Libyans. They lived in mud huts,—dressed in skins, and hunted wild animals. Successive invasions of a Semitic people from the East and Southeast, bringing with them cereals, sheep, oxen, goats, the use of bricks and writing, led finally to a fusion of the two races to form that Egypt which emerges into history about 4500 B. C.

From Manetho, a priest who lived in the Ptolemaic era and who had access to very ancient records, we learn that there were in all about thirty dynasties from 4500–332 B. C. Dynasties 1–10 were the Old Empire; 11–17 the Middle Empire; 18–20 the New Empire, and 21–30 the Period of Decadence.

(b) *The Old Empire* (4500–2150 *B. C.*).

This was the period of the great Pyramid builders. Memphis was the capital.

(c) *The Middle Empire* (2150–1580 *B. C.*).

This was the golden age of Egypt and was marked by conquests of foreign powers and the building of many of the great temples of Egypt. The capital was at Thebes. The fourteenth dynasty was marked by the invasion of the Hyksos kings, a group of Semites who came from Asia. They ruled about four hundred years and then were driven out. The Hebrews were in captivity during this period of their rule.

(d) *The New Empire* (1580–1150 *B. C.*).

This began with Thotmes III, the "Alexander of Egypt" who drove out the Hyksos. There came a sudden revival of art, culture, and architecture, and at this time Thebes was in the splendor of her full glory. At this time the temples of Luxor, Karnak, and the Ramesseum were

built. Rameses II, who built the latter temple, was Egypt's greatest builder, and it was during his reign that the Hebrews were oppressed. His son Meneptah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus.

(e) *Closing Days of Egypt* (1150–332 *B. C.*).

From the twentieth dynasty onward Egypt was in anarchy and under successive foreign rulers—Ethiopia, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and Greece—with occasional periods of nominal independence.

Upon the partition of the Empire of Alexander, Egypt fell to one of his generals, Ptolemy Lagus, who gave his name to the dynasty that ruled for three hundred years. Under the Ptolemies Egypt became immensely wealthy and Alexandria was made the second seat of Greek culture, next to Athens. The famous university and library of Alexandria are known to all students of history. As a by-product of the interest of Ptolemy in this library there came into existence a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, made by his express orders and called the Septuagint.

In the first century before Christ, Egypt came under the power of Rome. It was during this period that the Jewish colony of Alexandria became so large that it had four synagogues and a population of more than half a million. Philo, a contemporary of Jesus, living in Alexandria, sought to combine Greek and Hebrew thought in a philosophy which had very important influence on New Testament thought.

(2) The Religion of Egypt.

(a) *The Gods of Old Egypt.*

Like almost all ancient peoples, the Egyptian found his gods in the world about him, which he believed was filled with spirits, some good and some evil. The pantheon of the Egyptians contained a host of divinities and so various and contradictory are the legends regarding them

that a consistent theology is very difficult. The most important divinity was the sun, who was worshipped in various centres each claiming him for its own, under various names. At On (or Heliopolis), he was called Re or Ra; at Thebes, Amon or Amen. The winged disk of the sun was the supreme symbol of Old Egypt. The moon, the earth, the sky, were also deified and worshipped. Later, in a more degenerate age, animals who were symbols of these nature divinities were also worshipped, and the ibis, the hawk, the bull, the crocodile, the beetle are commonly found as gods all over Egypt. Religion became to all practical intents and purposes a debased polytheism. Elaborate temples were constructed, leading from the blazing brilliance of Egyptian out-of-doors by gradually dimmer rooms into almost total darkness, within which, in a holy of holies, the image of the god was placed. A priesthood soon arose, and religion became a state institution, heavily endowed and immensely powerful.

It is interesting to note in passing that in 1375 B. C., when Amenhotep IV succeeded his father, Amenhotep III (the great imperialist and temple builder of the Golden Age of Egypt whose huge portrait-statues are known as the Colossi of Memnon), he sought to make imperial that which he conceived to be the primitive religion of Old Egypt, viz., the worship of the spirit of the sun god, Ra. To this he gave a new name, "Aton," which meant the sun's rays. So the solar disk with its rays became its symbol. He particularly hated the Amon cult of Thebes and its dominating and powerful priesthood; so he changed his name from Amen-Hotep (satisfying to Amon) to Ikhn-Aton (profitable to Aton). He closed all the temples of Amon and even removed his capital to a new place and built a new royal city in honor of Aton. This city is now called in Arabic, Tel-el-Amarna, and recent archæological excavations have brought back to us the splendid and free art and sculpture, the religious literature of this city

which lasted only a few years. Some of the hymns to Aton that the king wrote have been found. One of them closely resembles the 104th Psalm. At his death he was succeeded by his son-in-law, who was called Tut-Ankh-Aton (living image of Aton), who lived for a few years at the new capital, but was soon forced by the priests of Amon at Thebes to return there, to restore the old worship of Amon, and to change his name from Tut-Ankh-Aton to Tut-Ankh-Amen (image of Amon). And under this latter name he has suddenly leaped into fame in our day. Thus ended the one real attempt at monotheism in Egypt.

(b) *The Cult of Osiris.*

The most important of all the gods in his influence on Egyptian thought was Osiris. He was once a king in lower Egypt, according to tradition. He taught his people agriculture and manual arts. On his death he became the personification of the Nile and was deified. The imperishable life of the Nile Valley, which is renewed by the Nile each year, was the essence of the Osiris legend. This taught that Osiris was slain by his brother Set (the Satan of Old Egypt). His sister-wife, Isis, succeeded in raising him from the dead to become Lord of the other world. This god-man thus suffered, died, and was raised again. The Egyptians believed it was his power which conferred upon men immortality, and through him men attained resurrection into heaven, or the kingdom of Osiris, which was a kind of idealized Egypt. So at death it was believed that the soul was taken to the judgment hall of Osiris, where it was weighed in the balance. After judgment the soul was given either eternal happiness or annihilation.

This belief in the resurrection became the most potent force in Egyptian thought and life, because the Egyptians could not conceive of a future life apart from the body. They felt that it must be preserved for that time at which the soul could reanimate it. So the most elaborate and costly care of the dead body became characteristic

of old Egypt. First of all the body was mummified, then placed in a wooden coffin, and then enclosed in a stone sarcophagus, then placed in a burial chamber hewn out of solid rock. Within this tomb were placed the jewelry, furniture, and personal possessions of the deceased. The walls were adorned with paintings; food and drink were placed beside the mummy, then the tomb was sealed, and the shaft filled with gravel. It is to this belief in the future life and its resultant customs that we owe the faithful preservation of so much that helps us to understand the life of ancient Egypt. It is out of its tombs that its life has been literally resurrected.

(3) The Course of the Revelation of God in Egypt.

Religion became in Egypt so largely concerned with the ritual and with the preparations for the future life that it developed no morality of any real power. For while in the Precepts of Ptah-hotep (3360 B. C.) and the Maxims of Ani we have two works somewhat similar to Proverbs, and inculcating a high standard of morality, the predominance of ceremonial and the prevalence of magic largely nullified moral values. The pantheon of gods became a labyrinth, and superstition held full sway. Such a religion had no real vitality or spiritual power, and its course was downward, until in Roman times the cult of Isis was its final product. And this, with its magic and immorality, is revealed in vividness in Lytton's "Last Days of Pompeii."

(4) Effects on Judaism and Our Bible.

The Hebrews were in contact with Egypt for more than a millennium. This contact began with the four centuries which our Bible declares were spent by the Hebrews in Egypt. While this is as yet unconfirmed by any records in Egypt, yet it fits in so well with the conditions of Egyptian history as to be accepted as true. Their residence was synchronous with the Hyksos kings, who were of the same Semitic stock. Their oppression came when

Rameses II drove out the Hyksos and restored the Egyptian rule. Their exodus took place in the rule of Meneptha in the thirteenth century B. C., a time of chaos and anarchy in Egypt. The later centuries continued this close relationship and the Hebrew nation, lying between Egypt and Assyria, was continually penetrated by Egyptian expeditions of commerce and war.

Under these circumstances it is amazing to find that the influence of the Egyptians upon Hebrew thought and life was negligible. No definite trace of Egyptian ideas or practices is found in our Bible. The explanation may be largely found in the difference of race and of ideas.

II. The Revelation of God in Babylonia

(1) The History of Babylonia.

Mesopotamia is naturally divided into two regions, north and south. The northernmost part is a series of undulating plains and mountains; the southern a great alluvial plain. With a vast maze of canals, the remains of which can still be seen, this plain was made to bear enormous crops by irrigation, and became the great garden-spot of the Old World, so that tradition located here the Garden of Eden (Gen. 2:11–14).

Here on this plain, about 4000 B. C., there arose a group of city states created by Sumerians which were at the height of their glory about 3000 B. C. Each had its own patron god and its own king. The most important were Ur, Lagash, Erech, and Nippur.

Then in the north the kingdom of Akkad, settled by the Semites, became powerful enough to invade the south, and under Sargon, about 2700 B. C., conquered the Sumerian City States and ultimately established a fusion of Sumerians and Semites.

(a) *The Old Babylonian Empire* (2300–950 *B. C.*).

One city now came into supremacy to give its name to the country, viz., Babylon, which from 2300 B. C. onward

was dominant. Under the rule of Hammurabi (the Amraphel of Gen. 14:1), about 1950 B. C., old Babylon reached the zenith of its power. Hammurabi was a great ruler, not only as a general in war, but as a judge in time of peace. His large judicial experience led him to create a code of laws which were set up in the temple of Marduk at Babylon on a monument which has been found in our day. It is the oldest code of laws in history. It represented a high degree of ethical consciousness, and in it the punishment was an exact reprisal for the injury committed (called by the Latins, the "*lex talionis*") and became in the Old Testament what Jesus called the principle of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." This code is of great interest for comparison with the Mosaic law. This old Babylonian Empire lasted about one thousand years.

(b) *The Assyrian Empire* (950–612 *B. C.*).

In the extreme northeastern part of northern Mesopotamia lay a lofty table-land called Asshur. Here, about 3000 B. C., a Semitic group from the desert settled and founded a city state. Exposed to constant invasion from the Aramæans of Syria with their capital at Damascus, and the Phœnicians and Hittites, the Assyrians were toughened by fifteen hundred years of incessant warfare to become the greatest warriors of antiquity. All their great kings were great military leaders—Tiglath-Pileser I and III, Shalmaneser, etc. But they revealed the subtle influence of their enemies in their culture, for the Babylonians gave them letters and the Hittites taught them the art of sculpture. In 1275 B. C. they pushed down into southern Mesopotamia and for a time conquered old Babylon. Then in the eighth century, under their three great warrior rulers, Shalmaneser IV, Sargon II, and Sennacherib, they swept out to the conquest of the West and captured Damascus (732 B. C.) and Samaria (722 B. C.), annihilated Babylon (700 B. C.), and captured Egypt (675 B. C.). So by about 700 B. C., Assyria was

mistress of all western Asia. The story of this Assyrian imperial invasion is reflected in the prophetical books of our Old Testament (Isaiah, Amos, Hosea, Micah, etc.). Not only so, but Hezekiah and "Jehu, son of Omri," are mentioned in the royal inscriptions of Assyria.

The Assyrian power under Sargon II and Sennacherib created a wonderful complex of palaces and temples at Nineveh, one of the most magnificent of ancient cities, adorned with bas-reliefs and sculpture on a heroic scale, with beautiful gardens and, most important of all, a huge library, of which 22,000 volumes on clay tablets were unearthed by archæologists and are now in the British Museum. This library included all the ancient literature of old Babylonia as well as Assyrian productions, and it is here that we have found the old Babylonian stories of creation and the flood.

But internal corruption and the loss of colonies were succeeded in the seventh century by repeated invasions of a new group of desert Nomads called Kaldi, who had settled near the Persian Gulf. Having become masters of the Babylonian plains, they finally laid siege to and overthrew Nineveh (612 B. C.). This Chaldean invasion is portrayed in Habakkuk (1:1–10) and the exultation of all the nations that this scourge of the East had fallen is voiced by Nahum.

(c) *Chaldean or Neo-Babylonian Empire (612–539 B. C.).*

This new empire's brief but brilliant career marks the third and last chapter of the history on the Two Rivers. It came into real power with the battle of Carchemish (605 B. C.), which gave them rule over the whole plain of the South. Under Nebuchadnezzar Babylon was rebuilt on a vast scale. On his palace, which was luxurious beyond all description, he created a wonderful terraced roof garden which became the famous Hanging Garden of Babylon, one of the seven wonders of the world. How

great this old city was in its day has been revealed by over twenty years of excavation carried on by German archæologists.

These Chaldeans adopted the former culture of both Assyria and Babylonia and their great libraries reveal their love of literature. One advance they made over their predecessors and that was in the knowledge of astronomy. To them we owe the signs of the Zodiac, and they were the first to calculate an eclipse. This knowledge formed the basis of the later Greek science of astronomy.

Being exasperated by the continual revolts in the West (encouraged by Egypt), Nebuchadnezzar led a great force into Syria and finally captured Jerusalem (586 B. C.) and took the people away to Babylon as captives. The story of this exile is fully narrated in our Bible (Chronicles, Jeremiah, Ezekiel) and Nebuchadnezzar became a traditional figure in Hebrew folk-lore (Daniel 1–4). But this kingdom speedily came to an end when its army, led by Belshazzar, the crown prince (Daniel 5), fell before the advance of the Persians, who captured Babylon in 539 B. C. Yet, though brief, its history seems to have cast a spell over the East and Babylon became a symbol to later Judaism of the imperial power of evil. As such, its name is familiar to all students of the Bible (Daniel, Revelation).

(2) The Culture of Babylonia.

The excavation of the great mounds of Mesopotamia which mark the remains of her ancient cities began about seventy-five years ago, and a vast mass of clay tablets, with their cuneiform inscriptions, has been brought to light by modern scholarship. We now know its civilization as well as that of any modern state.

The Babylonians had a highly developed culture. They especially excelled in science. To them we must attribute the following discoveries:

The sun dial; the year of 365 days; the twelve months; the hours and the minutes of time; the use of the arch

in building; the duo-decimal system in numbers; the naming of the signs of the zodiac; the map of the heavens and the movement of the planets; the names of the constellations; the calculation of eclipses.

(3) The Religion of Babylonia.

The earliest gods were nature deities, the sun, the moon, and stars. As the city states developed, each claimed some one of these for a local residence. Thus Sin, the moon god, dwelt at Ur, and Ea, the sea god, at Eridu. Later, when Babylon became the supreme city, its local god Marduk was, by its theologies through a recasting of the early legends, made the supreme god of the pantheon. With him was associated the female deity, Ishtar, the goddess of love. To these divinities great temple towers were erected by the rulers as places of worship, and their architectural form made them the ancestors of the modern church steeple. Divination was largely practised and astrology was highly developed by Chaldean seers, who became traditional masters of the art, so that even in the New Testament times we find the story of the Magi from the East (Matt. 2:1), revealing the reverence for Babylon as the home of astrology. There was a high sense of justice in Hammurabi's day, and fine ethical ideals, as his code reveals. As an instance of the religious spirit of early Babylon is this hymn to the moon god which has been translated for us by Sayce:

"Father long-suffering and full of forgiveness, whose hand upholdeth the life of all mankind!
First-born omnipotent, whose heart is immensity, and there is none who may fathom it!
In heaven who is supreme? Thou alone art supreme!
On earth who is supreme? Thou alone art supreme!
As for thee, thy will is made known in heaven, and angels bow their faces.
As for thee, thy will is made known upon earth, and the spirits below kiss the ground."

The same author says: "The prayers of Nebuchadnezzar are proof how narrow was the line which divided his faith from that of the monotheist." Nebuchadnezzar says: "I prayed" (to Marduk), "I began to him my petition; the word of my heart sought him, and I said: 'O prince, thou that art from everlasting, lord of all that exists, for the king whom thou lovest, whom thou hast called by name, as it seems good unto thee, thou guidest his name aright, thou watchest over him in the path of righteousness! I the prince, who obey thee, am the work of thy hands; thou hast created me and entrusted to me the sovereignty over multitudes of men, according to thy goodness, O Lord, which thou hast made me to pass over them all. Let me love thy supreme lordship, let the fear of thy divinity exist in my heart, and give what seemeth good unto thee, since thou maintainest my life.' "

(4) The Course of the Revelation of God in Babylonia.

But Hammurabi's day marked the height of ethics and religion. Its further course was retrogressive. It degenerated into superstition, magic, and ceremonialism. And so God called out of the heart of Old Babylonia a man called Abraham, who carried out of that old land all its ancient moral and religious values and added thereto a vision of a spiritual God which was to become the dominant note of a new and finer revelation of God to mankind.

(5) Influence of Babylonia on Judaism and Our Bible.

But since the Hebrew nation thus came out of Babylonia to dwell in Palestine, and about four centuries later was lifted bodily out of its new land and taken back to the "Waters of Babylon" in the exile, it need not surprise us to learn that the influence of Babylonian culture and religion on Judaism and on our Bible was profound. The names of the months used by the Hebrews were taken from Babylonia, and the great institution of the Sabbath, while peculiarly Jewish in its development into a popular and

frequently recurring day of religious practices, probably originated in the Babylonian "Sabbatu" or day of rest. The Jewish Passover was derived from the Babylonian feast of the vernal equinox. Clean and unclean animals are exactly the same in Babylonian religious books as in the Levitical canon. The cosmogony of ancient Babylonia was the basis of Hebrew ideas of the universe. Most striking of all are the correspondences in the legends and myths later incorporated by both Babylonians and Hebrews in literature. The debt of Hebrew religion to Babylonia as its precursor in religious thought and life is very great.

CHAPTER V

THE LAND, THE PEOPLE, AND THE BOOK

The Bible came into being out of the actual life of an historic people who lived in a real land. Their mind and character were the creators of Scripture and it reflects as in a mirror their peculiar traits and tendencies. And the Hebrew mind and character were largely the product of racial history and heritage as affected by the land in which they lived and which they have made the Holy Land of history. So a study of the people and the land will be of real value to an understanding of the book which they have created.

I. The People

(1) Their Racial History.

The Hebrews belong to that great race, the Semites. It is generally agreed that the cradle of the Semitic race was the peninsula of Sinai in Arabia. Northward stretches that illimitable sea of sand called the Arabian Desert, southward a mighty range of tumbled and chaotic mountain peaks rise against the sky. Here, just on the edge of the shifting sands, with the desert in front and the mountains behind, amid the oases and fertile plains of this hinterland, the Semites came into their own. Here for all time the mighty desert, with its hush, its awe, its mystery, cast its spell over their souls, and stamped the Semite with his enduring qualities. Desert hardships made him a man of endurance, desert dangers a man of courage, desert mysteries a man of dreams. And in the long night-watches under the desert stars there was born in him that genius for religion which is the predominant trait of the Semitic race.

Out from these desert fastnesses the Semites swept in four great migrations:

(*a*) Some crossed the Red Sea into Africa to become the Arabs and Ethiopians of history.

(*b*) Others crossed the Suez and pushed down to the headwaters of the Nile, later to become for a brief time, as the Hyksos kings, masters of Egypt.

(*c*) A more adventurous group journeyed far northward into the seacoast plains of Syria, there to found the nation of Phœnicia.

(*d*) But just across the desert lay the "Promised Land" of the Semite, that fabulously fertile plain between the Tigris and Euphrates. Down upon this land in a resistless stream descended the Semitic hordes to unite with its primitive inhabitants to become the Babylonians.

The most important centre of all these Semitic migrations was Babylonia, whose wonderful civilization we have already reviewed. It was from Babylonia as a new centre that new swarms of colonists went westward for conquest and settlement. Some stopped in the oasis of the Abana and Pharpar Rivers to found Damascus, and Syria came into being. Others pushed on in successive waves into the land of Palestine and, by the name of Canaanites, occupied and settled the land about 2500 B. C. Here, as we have already seen, they built walled towns and sought to reproduce the civilization of Babylonia in this new land. When the first migration of the Hebrews under Abraham entered, they could find no foothold in Palestine, and even when they returned under Joshua, although the biblical record in Joshua and Judges indicates a speedy conquest, the evidence of later Bible books is abundant that the Canaanites remained in their strongholds and for centuries defied dislodgement. The Old Testament itself also reveals clearly the struggle of the prophets to maintain the Jehovah religion against the Baals of these Canaanitish tribes among whom the Hebrews had settled.

PHOTO-RELIEF MAP
OF
PALESTINE.

BY
GEORGE ARMSTRONG,
(of the Survey Party)
ACTING SECRETARY TO THE FUND.

Published by the
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1905.

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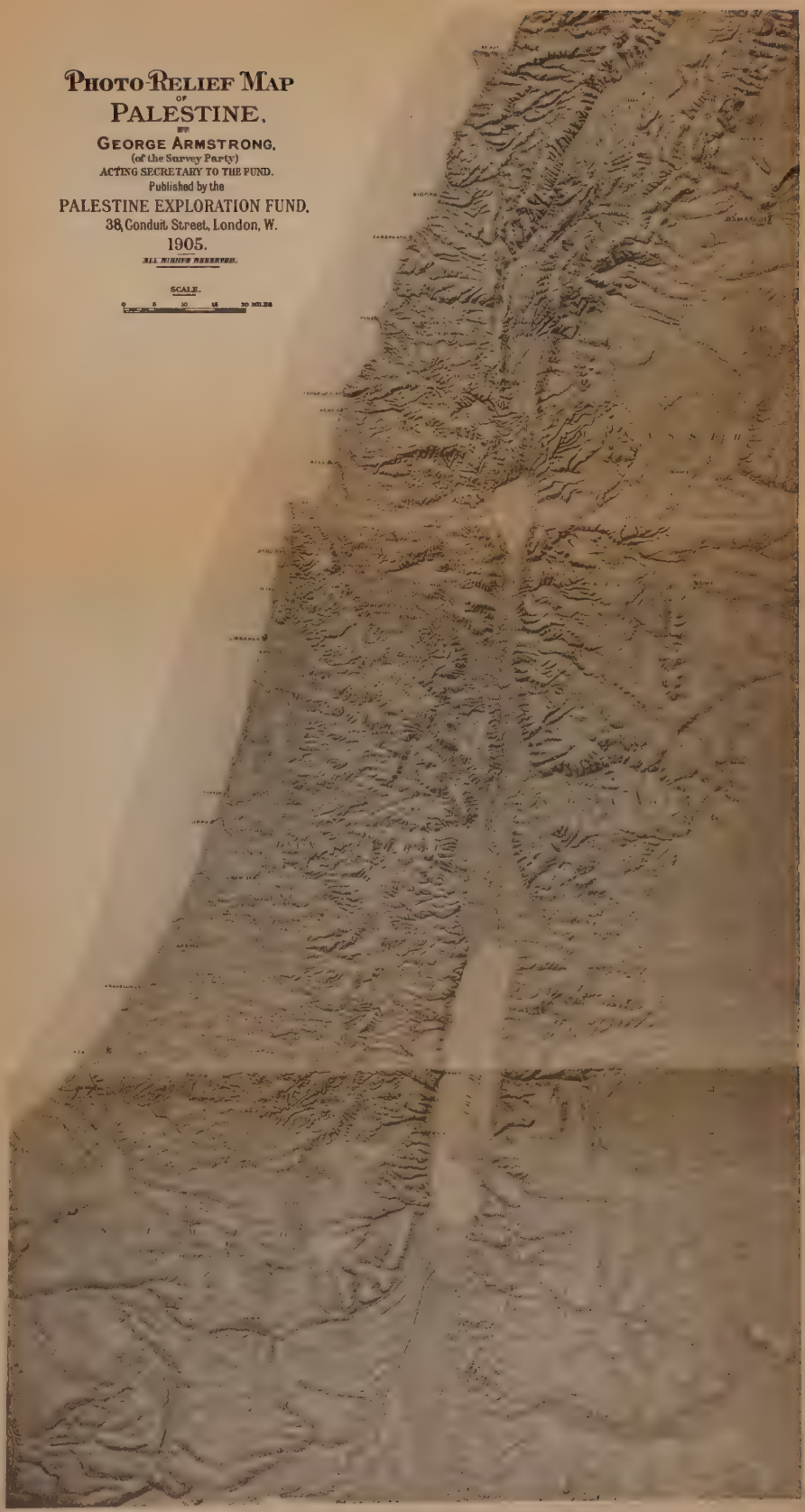
SCALE.



Much of the civilization of the Canaanites was adopted by these rude Hebrews, and it seems likely that there was a great deal of intermarriage and commingling of the two races in the early centuries of the Jewish occupancy of Palestine.

This brief sketch of the racial relations and the history of the Hebrews explains not only this continual reversion to Canaanitish life and religion which the Bible records, but the racial affinities thus revealed throw light on other features of our Bible:

(*a*) The adoption of so much of Babylonian ideas and customs.

(*b*) The favorable treatment of the Hebrews in Egypt during the reign of the Hyksos kings.

(*c*) The adoption of Aramaic by the Hebrews in later Old Testament and New Testament times. This Aramaic was the language of the Aramæans or Syrians of Damascus and its adjacent territory.

(*d*) The close relations of Phœnicia and Palestine as revealed in the days of Solomon (I Kings 7).

(*e*) The affinity of Arab tribesmen of the desert for Hebrews, and their continual migration into Palestine. Even the Bedouin Arabs of to-day, who live in Syria, reveal in customs and dress a close resemblance to the patriarchal pioneers of the Hebrew race who entered Palestine. The fact that the Hebrews in dealing with all these nations were in relation with their kindred of the same Semitic stock accounts for these facts and makes plain the influences of these racial cousins upon their life.

The return to Palestine of the Hebrew nation under Moses and Joshua, about 1100 B. C., marks the real beginning of Hebrew history. It was a providential hour for their entrance, for (1) the previous invasions by the Egyptians and Hittites had broken the solid front of Canaanite occupancy and made it possible for the Hebrews to get a foothold in Palestine, and (2) no great

Asiatic world-power was just then in any position to deal with Palestine, and so there was no interference with the Hebrews from without.

(2) The Hebrew Mind.

And so they entered Palestine, bringing with them the hardiness, austerity, and mysticism of their Semitic ancestry and blood, and those traditional Semitic myths whose influences on our Bible we shall survey in the next chapter. To see the genius of the Hebrew race emerging out of its Semitic background, we have only to look at Abraham, in whom the racial traits were reflected as in a condensing mirror. For these early heroes of the Bible are idealized personalities, into whose lives are gathered into individual form the characteristic qualities of the nation. The supreme force of Abraham's personality was a devout and energizing faith in God (Heb. 11:8–12). This has remained as the elemental trait of Hebrew nature, latent in the nation, to emerge continually in its prophets and leaders.

This religious genius lies at the back of the Hebrew mind which gave us our Bible. Its characteristics may best be seen by comparison with the Greek mind. The Greek mind was apt in abstract thinking and in keen reasoning. The Hebrew mind was concrete and realistic. The Greek was a born philosopher, the Hebrew a natural observer. While philosophy had for the Jews no meaning, history was of profound significance. To history they turned as to the living oracles of God. Paul has summarized this distinction in his remark that the "Jews seek for a sign, while the Greeks seek after wisdom," by which he means that "while the Greeks project their own intellectual powers onward to solve the problem of being in human terms, the Hebrews begin with belief in the divine, and interpret facts and events as tokens of God's working" (Genung).

So the whole Old Testament is concretely historical.

Its early part is the narrative of history, not as mere annals, but as a revelation of God at work in life. Its laws are set in a framework of history; its poetry is associated with historic names; its prophecy seeks to interpret the current and the coming history, and what has been called its philosophy, *viz.*, the wisdom literature, is not abstract reasoning but rather shrewd comment on actual life expressed in concrete form. It was this genius for religion, not as speculative or philosophical, but practical and vital, that gave us our Bible. Abraham's simple faith in God was developed in the people he founded into a religious insight and conscience that has made them the spiritual teachers of humanity, and their Bible the great book of righteousness and truth.

II. The Land

(1) The Paradox of Palestine.

The land in which the Hebrews lived seemed providentially fitted to be the theatre of a great Divine design for all humanity. For Palestine lies between the two great centres of ancient civilization and culture—Mesopotamia and Egypt. And since this narrow strip of land is bounded by the desert on the east over which travel is nearly impossible, it became an isthmus between two great oceans of human life, and through this little land have ever flowed the caravans of commerce and the armies of war. It was this central location as a gateway of the East that gave this tiny land with no natural resources its vast importance in history, for whoever held it held the key to the Near East. So even in our own day the armies of the World War fought long and hard for its possession, and as George Adam Smith says, the constant warfare for its possession through the centuries has made "every foot of its soil at some time wet with human blood." In the midst of the life and energies of the ancient world, living "in a house by the side of the road," the Hebrews were in

constant contact with all the great nations of the past from Babylon to Rome. And not only do they reveal in their sacred book the fact of the influence of these nations upon them, but also early in their life a sense that their land was destined to be a centre of light and guidance for other nations (Isaiah 2:2–4; 60:1–5), fulfilled in completest measure when Christianity went out from that central place to become the religion of the world (Acts 1:8). For in the fulness of time God set at this focus of the world the Light of the World to irradiate all humanity.

But Palestine is also a strangely isolated land, cut off by deserts and mountains, a place of rocky retreats and impassable defiles. It was from time immemorial, especially in the southern part, the refuge and sanctuary of the nomadic tribes of the desert. And the prophets strove to keep Palestine as a "garden enclosed" in which the religion of Jehovah might grow up. And although in later years this isolation was shattered, and politically and commercially Israel lay open to the world, yet she still retained in her heart this spirit of the recluse and erected spiritual barriers against the world when the physical walls had fallen. It was in this isolated land that Jehovah sought to rear this remarkable people and mould them to his will and Palestine was their cloistered school of character.

No land ever had a stranger or more contradictory history, to be at the same time an isthmus and an island, an observatory and a market-place, an oasis and a focus, a highway and a sanctuary. And this "Paradox of Palestine" has been marvellously reproduced in the long story of the Jews, always to touch all nations yet to remain separate, to be, as one of their rabbis termed them, "a racial gulf stream in the ocean of humanity."

(2) The Characteristics of the Land.

(a) *The Size of Palestine.*

It is a surprisingly small land, about 60 miles wide at the south, tapering to 35 at the north, and only 100 miles

from northern to southern boundaries. Set it down in California and it would take two Palestines to make San Diego County, and three to make San Bernardino County.

(b) *Contour.*

To understand the geography of Palestine one must grasp the fact of its extraordinary brokenness of contour. A perspective from east to west reveals that it lies in five parallel strips or longitudinal divisions running north and south. Crossing from the Mediterranean eastward we first find the Maritime Plain, a fairly level surface of ground 100 to 200 feet above sea-level and rather fertile. It was never occupied by the Hebrews, but was the home for many years of the Philistines, a people who settled here from Crete about 1200 B. C. and whose military strength was such that they held at bay the Hebrews for nearly three centuries. It was their name that the land now bears, "Philistina" or Palestine. The second division is the Shephelah or lowland, a country of low hills and broad valleys, whose hills were crowned with towns and fortresses, a debatable land for whose possession Israelite, Philistine, Roman, Greek, Crusader, and Moslem have contended. The third division is the Central Range, which was the real home of the Hebrews, extending from Lebanon to the Dead Sea region. The only breaks in this continuous range, which is the backbone of the land and its most conspicuous feature, are the rounded valleys of Samaria and the great plain of Esdraelon. The fourth division and the most striking feature of the contour of the land is the Jordan Valley. Beginning at the source of the river, it ploughs an ever-deeper gorge as it goes southward. At the springs of the Jordan it is over 1,700 feet above sea-level, and at the Dead Sea 1,292 feet below sea-level. Winding and twisting in its 75 miles of length, the river rushes so rapidly downward through its gorge as to give it rightly its name of "Jordan" (descender). It runs to no place, has no harbor, no boats upon its waters, no city on its banks,

and flows through a desert. Its gorge above and wilderness below make it a natural barrier against the East. It marks the line over which as the nomads of the desert passed into the fertile land beyond they exchanged the wandering for the settled life. As Kinglake well says in "Eothen": "The Jordan was the dividing line between tents and roofs." The fifth division was the Eastern Table Land, a lofty plateau over 2,000 feet in height, and from 30 to 80 miles broad, lying between the desert and the Jordan, a land of forests, orchards, and great uplands. It falls into three sections from north to south—the Hauran (where the Druses now live), Gilead, and Moab.

(c) *The Color of the Land.*

The bare hillsides which give the characteristic color to the landscape lie in long and flowing lines of striation which follow the sky-line as the strata run horizontally for the most part in Palestine. There are browns and reds and blacks, but the broader bands of these terraced hillsides are of gray, so that the general color of Palestine is gray with a bluish tinge. Against this neutral background are the splashes of bright green of the springs and watercourses; and the people, as if to give a vivid foreground to the faint and dull landscape, are clothed in the strong colors for which the East is noted, as all know who have looked upon its rugs and glass. But something about the color of the land, with its ghostly gray, gives a spectral air to Palestine, which is reflected in the poetry of our Bible. The land seems fairly haunted by the unseen. And the vivid imagination of the East peopled it with spirits; and belief in angels and demons, in the whisper of unseen voices in the silences and mystery of so strange a land was only natural.

(d) *Mountain and Plain.*

The seacoast plains and the great plain of Esdraelon were never the home of the people of Israel. Their home was on the heights, "for the mountains are the characteristic feature of Palestine's history as well as her geog-

raphy." All the great towns nestle among them somewhere and Jerusalem owed its permanence to the fact that it lies on a mountain guarded by deep and difficult passes. These mountains were not only Israel's defense in war but her places of worship, of which Mount Zion came at last to be the chief shrine.

The story of Judaism in our Old Testament is, like that of Scotland, of the divided sovereignty of Highlander and Lowlander. The ten tribes dwelt in the lowland—the plains and valleys of Samaria. They were the first to succumb to the subtle seductions of the foreign life that flowed through their land, and the first to go down before foreign invasion. The small remainder of Israel—the people of Judah—were the Highlanders, dwelling in the heights of Judea. It was these who retained the traditions of the past, remained loyal to their Jehovah religion, and have given the race its name of Judahites or Jews. They held their mountain kingdom long after the lowland kingdom of the North had gone into oblivion. And it is largely to them that we owe our Bible. It was written by a race of Highlanders, and the vigor and vision of men who lived on the heights are felt in the Scripture. To understand it we must, like them, "lift up our eyes unto the hills." For the shadow of the mountains falls athwart the pages of our Bible. Ararat, Moriah, Pisgah, Sinai, Tabor, Carmel, Hermon, Zion tower out of Scripture like giants. And the snowy breath of Lebanon, the shadowy coolness of a great rock in a weary land, the encircling protection of the mountains round about Jerusalem—how familiar these phrases to every Bible student! A refuge to troubled souls, symbols of eternity, lifting men's hearts heavenward, the mountains of Palestine gave to these men who dwelt on their heights far more of spiritual power than we have ever realized.

(e) *Desert and Sea.*

Bounded on either side by the desert and the sea, it is interesting to note that the people of Palestine looked

upon the sea with terror and hate, and upon the desert as a friendly refuge. With no harbor, Israel sailed no ships upon the Mediterranean, and she saw no beauty in its breaking waves. References to the sea in Scripture in nearly every instance suggest images of fear. It is the dwelling-place of the great dragon, the home of tempests, its roar is as the roar of a wild beast, its great deep is a veritable Gehenna into which evil is to be cast.

On the other hand, the desert, with all its forbidding desolation and death, is not an enemy but it is home. And this was because it was the desert that made Palestine. Britain is not more a child of the sea than is Syria the desert's child. For as one views the land, the truth of Kelman's words is revealed: "The seaboard of Palestine is perhaps the smoothest and most unbroken of any country in the world. But if a coast-line of the desert were sketched in the same way as the seacoast the edge would show an outline almost as broken as the coast of Greece. The desert is the sea of Syria and its inthrust is like that of great fingers feeling their way through the pastures to the very gates of her cities."

This desert influence is seen in many ways. It was the maker of the climate of Palestine, and, like that of Southern California, which so closely resembles it, it is the product of the continual war of sea and desert. The cool winds which blow across it in the afternoon are the sea air rushing into the vacuum created by the desert heat. Now and then the desert is the victor and the sand-storm sweeps with terrific force through the land. The color of the land is a desert product, with its faint background and vivid foreground, familiar to all dwellers in the American Southwest. The plant life is likewise that of the desert, with its scantiness and coloring. Palestine to-day is even more returned to desert than in Bible times, owing to the long centuries of neglect and misrule, but its vegetation has always been the result not of natural luxuri-

ance but of hard, human toil. Like Southern California again, it is but a reclaimed desert. And this contrast of its greenness to the desert which continually overshadows it accounts, no doubt, for the extravagant and apparently unreasonable praise of the land for its fertility, beauty, and perfection. It is to-day far removed from its description as a land "flowing with milk and honey," and even in its prosperity it was not the dreamland of beauty and greenness that the Bible pictures it; but to the desert-dweller its beauty and greenness in contrast to the burning sands was so great as to make it seem an earthly paradise. There was thus an intense and passionate love for the land that burned in Hebrew hearts that gives an ardor to their description of the land, its scenery and life with which our Bible abounds, for the land held an unearthly beauty that made it a fitting prophecy, to the Hebrew, of heaven itself.

The moral and spiritual influence of the desert was likewise profound. It gave to the Hebrew his strength and endurance of character; and its continual menace created patience and persistence and courage. And so, with all its harsh discipline, the desert was the home of the Hebrew spirit. It is noteworthy that Moses and Elijah and David and Paul and Jesus found in the desert a refuge and retreat in their hours of spiritual struggle.

(f) *The Waters of Israel.*

It is natural at this point to consider also that scantiness of water-supply which was a characteristic feature of the land. The only river of consequence, the Jordan, flowed so swiftly to the Dead Sea as to be of little use for irrigation. "So in a land which is thirsting for water, the Jordan rushes along to an inglorious end" (Ross). The water-supply of Palestine was largely furnished by springs and fountains which gush up from subterranean sources. So mysterious was their origin that the early peoples believed them to come up from "the Great Deep"

which underlay the earth. The Judean upland upon which Jerusalem lies is a waterless country and dependent entirely upon artificial tanks or pools to hold the water of the winter rains. In the main, Palestine is a "dry and thirsty land," and under such circumstances we do not wonder that "the cup of cold water" is enough of a boon to merit mention by the Master, that water itself becomes a symbol of spiritual refreshment to a degree that we of more favored regions can hardly estimate, or that it furnishes the final touch of beauty to the description of heaven with its "river of the water of life."

This aridity of Palestine also made necessary such constant struggle to produce a living from the soil that something of the sturdy strength and enterprise and industriousness of the race (which it still retains) may well have come from this hard labor necessary to existence. Barred out from the "Garden of Eden" of an oasis like Damascus, or of luxuriant valleys like Babylon and Egypt, the Hebrew was from the beginning condemned to earn bread by the sweat of his brow (Gen. 3:17–18), and in a land where crops depended so completely on the favoring conditions of nature, prayer to God for rain and for fertility became inevitably a part of the Hebrew consciousness, and a faith was engendered in God's rule over nature which is reflected in our whole Bible.

(g) *Variety of Palestine.*

No land has any greater variety of conditions of soil or scenery. Small as the land is, it is made up of a large group of differing conditions and environments. Such a state of affairs made Palestine always a land of tribes and clans and made impossible a centralized government. The Davidic monarchy only lasted a brief moment in her history. In this localization of Hebrew life we may find the reason for the democracy of the Hebrews. Their loyalty was to the local group rather than to the nation.

(3) Summary of Effects of Palestine on the Hebrews.

(*a*) Its openness to the desert produced and maintained a sturdy, austere, and vigorous life and character.

(*b*) The absence of rivers and harbors and the isolation of Palestine created here an intensive type of civilization.

(*c*) The focal location of Palestine kept the Hebrews in touch with all nations of the past and gave them their place in history.

(*d*) The lack of large natural resources drove them from agriculture and industry into trade and they became what they still remain, the middlemen of the world.

CHAPTER VI

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE BIBLE

For the beginnings of biblical literature we have to go back far beyond the age of written books to a long period in which ideas were expressed orally and transmitted by memory from one generation to another. This primitive literature may be characterized by the general name of folk-lore and is common not only to the Hebrews but to all peoples of ancient times whose prewritten literature was preserved and transmitted in this oral form. All the earlier literature of the Bible abounds in evidences of this long process of oral transmission. And from the references, quotations, etc., it is now possible to describe with some degree of completeness the nature of this great fund of folk-lore which was the earliest form of the expression of Hebrew thought in primitive literature.

I. Israel's Folk-lore

This folk-lore was of three classes:

(1) Folk-poetry.

This, as among all nations, was the earliest literary form. This poetry was of two main kinds—songs and elegies. Of these many poems of family and communal life many fragments remain in the form of quoted extracts in our present Bible, such as "The Song of Lamech" (Gen. 4:23–24) (the oldest song in the Bible) and the "Song of the Well" (Num. 21:17–18). Twenty-five such extracts of folk-poetry are found in our Old Testament.

(2) Folk-tales or Legends.

This was in a sense primitive history. It usually centred about some early hero in Israel's beginnings, and the folk-tales about some of these, such as Joseph or David, are developed into a whole cycle of legends. These legends were the native product of the Hebrew mind, their own creation. Like all early peoples, their primitive history is

cast in the form of legend. This type of history was the only one known until the days of Solomon, when written literature really began. Such legends are not made up out of nothing; they usually have some historical basis, but have been so modified and changed by imagination as to make them no longer strictly historical. They are a mingling of fact and fancy, and their great value lies in the lifelike way in which they set forth in these idealized characters some of the essential traits of the race's collective character. Thus Abraham is the personal embodiment of faith; Jacob, of the dual nature of the Hebrew, as both worldly and spiritual.

(3) Myths.

All primitive peoples have sought to embody their explanations of the mysteries of experience in what are called myths. Later ages give their answers to these unsolved questions in philosophy in abstract terms, but primitive peoples, like children, must embody them in concrete form, and these concrete narratives or stories are called myths. They are not frauds or conscious inventions, they are simply primitive philosophies of nature and religion, attempts to explain the universe and life.

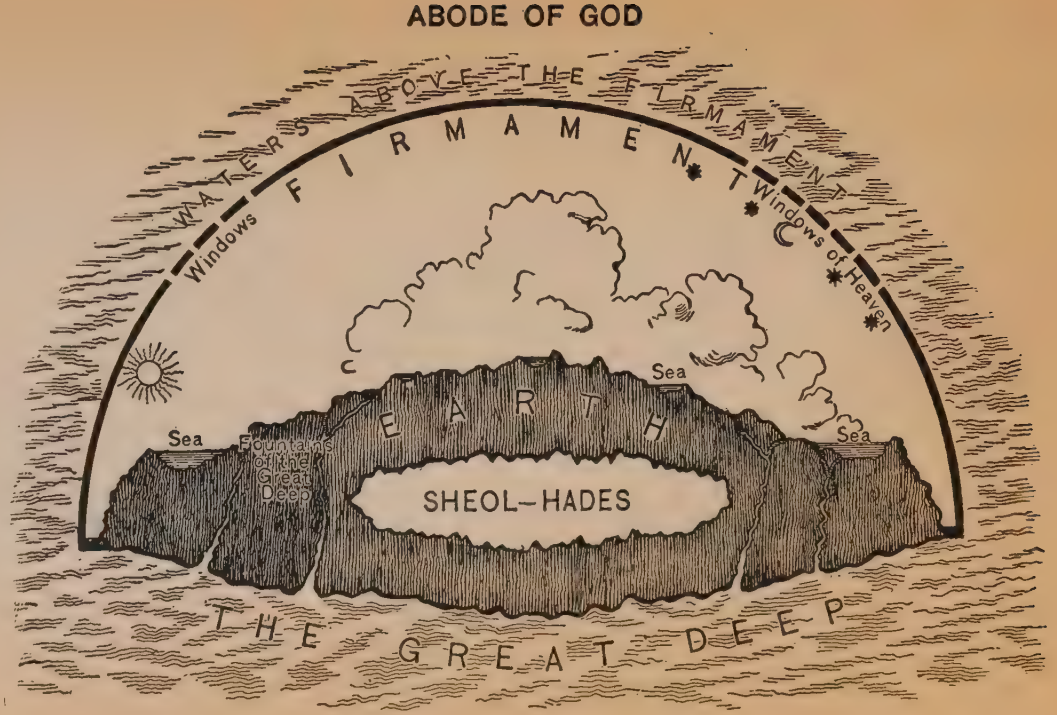
And the Hebrews were not unlike other ancient peoples. They possessed an inherited store of myths common to the whole Semitic race and in their Babylonian form now accessible to us to-day through the discoveries of archæology. But as we find them in our Bible these myths are quite different in spirit and content from their Babylonian versions. They have been refined and elevated into symbolic stories in which the magical and fantastical elements are eliminated, and great spiritual truths embodied which are of eternal value. Thus, for example, the creation myth in Babylonia is a crude story of a conflict between a personified chaos and cosmos, while in our Bible it is a sublime poem of the one spiritual God creating all things by his word of truth.

To say then that myths are found in our Old Testament need not disturb any one's faith. For one of the strongest proofs of the working of the Divine Spirit in the Hebrew mind and consciousness lies in a comparison of their mythology with that of other nations, since in no plainer way are the native genius and temperament of any race revealed than in their myths. Those of the Greeks are distinguished by æsthetic beauty without moral sense; the Latin myths reveal a cold and unimaginative hardness and coarseness; the myths of Scandinavia are embodiments of savage force and titanic strength; those of Arabia are fantastic and sensuous; the Babylonian mythology is full of magic and cruelty, monstrous and corrupt. But the Hebrew myths are noble and lofty in spirit, devoid of coarseness or cruelty, with a deep spiritual fervor pervading them. So they have an eternal value for the teaching of great spiritual truths, even though they lack basis in fact or history.

II. The Book of Genesis

As we turn now to our Bible, it is generally accepted to-day that the Book of Genesis with which it opens is a compilation of myths and legends; the myths predominating in Gen. 1–11, the legends in the latter part of the book. Since it is a book of origins, the myths are attempted explanations of the beginnings of the universe, of man, of customs and institutions. Here also there are fragments of folk-poetry. So the entire book, as we see, is properly denominated a Hebrew collection of folk-lore.

This fact of the nature of the book lies on its very surface. Although long considered universally (and still so considered by many Christians) as history, its treatment and style are utterly unhistorical. If we found in any other literature such a set of stories as we find here—of the Eden garden, the talking serpent, giants and demigods, magic revolving swords, trees of life and knowledge


ABODE OF GOD
WATERS ABOVE THE FIRMAMENT
FIRMAMENT
Windows
Windows of Heaven
Sea
Sea
Sea
Fountains of the Great Deep
EARTH
SHEOL—HADES
THE GREAT DEEP

—we would at once denominate them as mythology, for such they are. And the final proof lies in the discoveries of the differing versions of these same stories in the mythology of kindred peoples with which we shall deal more fully later in this chapter.

No indication of authorship is given in the book itself, and the Mosaic authorship of this, as well as the rest of the Pentateuch, rests wholly on tradition. And there is much in Genesis alone, and even more in the rest of the Pentateuch, that is far later than Moses' day.

Moreover, it is not the work of any one hand. The proof of this lies in the fact of its many unnecessary repetitions, its discrepancies and contradictions, its lack of continuity, its marked differences in style, vocabulary, literary treatment, and religious ideas.

As a matter of fact, it is a composite literature coming to us as the completed product of long centuries of combination and editing of material from various sources. This idea was first advanced by Jean Astruc in 1753, and for nearly two centuries this idea has been so thoroughly examined and discussed that all scholars agree that Genesis is a composite structure and are also in substantial agreement as to the character and arrangement of its component parts.

This critical study is too technical and involved to enter into its details, but it may be said in a word that two main sources may be traced in Gen. 1–11, the Prophetic and Priestly Narratives, each an attempt to write a history of the Hebrews from earliest times, and each using in the process the funds of folk-lore as material for this prehistorical epoch with which Genesis deals. The discussion of the work of these two schools and their influences on our Old Testament will be deferred to a later chapter. It is sufficient at this point to show that this seemingly single history is composed of these two strands, by an examination and comparison of the text of the two stories of creation, placing them side by side.

THE CREATION STORY

PRIESTLY NARRATIVE—1 : 1–2 : 4A
CENTRAL THEME: THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

1. Creation in six days.
2. Precreated world a chaos.
3. "Heavens and earth."
4. Water first, dry land afterward.
5. World created without regard to man.
6. Creation by a word.

1. In the beginning, when Elohim created the heavens and the earth,
2. the earth was a waste and chaos, and darkness was on the face of the abyss, and the spirit of Elohim was brooding upon the surface of the waters.
3. And Elohim said, "Let there be light!" and there was light.
4. And Elohim saw the light that it was good, and Elohim separated the light from the darkness.
5. And Elohim named the light Day and the darkness he named Night: and there was evening and there was morning, a first day.

. . . . . .

6. And Elohim said, "Let there be a firmament between the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters"! /And it was so./
7. And Elohim made the firmament, and separated the waters that were below the firmament from the waters that were above the firmament.

PROPHETIC NARRATIVE—2 : 4B–25
CENTRAL THEME: THE CREATION OF MAN

4*b*. In the day when Jahveh Elohim made the earth and the heavens,
5. not a shrub of the fields was yet upon the earth, not an herb of the fields had yet sprouted, because Jahveh Elohim had not yet caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was no man to cultivate the ground;

1. Creation in one day.
2. No mention of chaos.
3. "Earth and heavens."
4. Dry land first and water afterward.
5. Universe created with regard to man.
6. Creation by natural means.

	8. And Elohim named the firmament Heaven. And there was evening and there was morning, a second day.		
	. . . . .		
7. Water removed to allow vegetation.	9. And Elohim said, "Let the waters which are below the heaven gather together into one place and let the dry land appear"! And it was so.	6. But there arose a mist from the earth and watered all the surface of the ground.	7. Water added to cause vegetation.
	10. And Elohim named the dry land Earth, and he named the gathering together of the waters Seas. And Elohim saw that it was good.		
8. Plants formed without regard to man.	11. And Elohim said, "Let the earth produce verdure,—the herb bearing seed, the fruit-trees bearing fruit after their kind in which their seed is contained upon the earth!" And it was so.	9. And Jahveh Elohim made to grow out of the ground every tree pleasant to the sight and good for food, and the Tree of Life in the midst of the garden and also the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil.	8. Plants formed for man's use.
	12. And the earth produced verdure, the herb bearing seed after its kind, and the tree bearing fruit in which the seed is contained after its kind. And Elohim saw that it was good.		
	13. And there was evening and there was morning, a third day.		
	. . . . .		
	14. And Elohim said, "Let there be luminaries in the firmament of Heaven to divide the day from the night, and let them be signs for the set feasts, and for/ reckoning/ the days and the years:		

THE CREATION STORY—Continued

Priestly Narrative—1 : 1–2 : 4a CENTRAL THEME: THE CREATION OF THE WORLD	Prophetic Narrative—2 : 4b–25 CENTRAL THEME: THE CREATION OF MAN
15. and let them be for lights in the firmament of Heaven to give light upon the earth!" And it was so. 16. And Elohim made the two great luminaries: the greater luminary to rule over the day, the lesser luminary to rule over the night, and also the stars. 17. And Elohim placed them in the firmament of Heaven to give light upon the earth, 18. and to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness. And Elohim saw that it was good. 19. And there was evening and there was morning, a fourth day. . . . . . . 20. And Elohim said, "Let the waters swarm with swarms of living creatures and let the fowl fly over the earth toward the face of the firmament of Heaven!" And it was so. 21. And Elohim created the great sea-monsters, and all the living, moving	

creatures with which the waters swarm, and also all winged fowl after their kind. And Elohim saw that it was good.

22. And Elohim blessed them, saying, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the waters of the Seas, and let the fowl multiply on the earth!"

23. And there was evening and there was morning, a fifth day.

. . . . . .

9. Animals created by fiat, produced from the earth.

24. And Elohim said, "Let the earth produce living beings after their kinds, the cattle, the creeping things, and the beasts of the earth after their kinds!" And it was so.

25. And Elohim made the beasts after their kinds, the cattle after their kind, and the creeping things of the earth after their kind. And Elohim saw that it was good.

10. Man but distantly related to the animal world — "having dominion."

26. And Elohim said, "Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness, and let him have dominion over the fishes of the sea, over the fowl of the air, over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth."

11. Man distantly related to God, created by fiat.

27. And Elohim created man in his image, in the image of God he created him, male and female he created them.

18. And Jahveh Elohim said, "It is not good that the man be alone. I will make a helpmeet for him."

9. Animals formed by the hand of God out of earth.

19*a*. And Jahveh Elohim formed out of the ground all the beasts of the field and all the fowls of the air,

10. Man closely related to the animal world—"naming."/Compare vs. 18 and 20*b*./

19*b*. and he led them to the man to see how he would name them, and according as the man should name a living being, such should be its name.

20*a*. And the man gave names to all cattle, and to the fowls of the heavens, and to all the beasts of the field:

11. Man closely related to God—receives life by God's breathing

THE CREATION STORY—CONTINUED

PRIESTLY NARRATIVE—1 : 1–2 : 4A
CENTRAL THEME: THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

12. Man made in image of God.
13. Woman created only as sexually divergent.
14. Woman created by fiat of God.

15. The destiny of the first pair—dominion.

28. And Elohim blessed them, and said unto them, "Be fruitful, multiply, fill the earth and subject it, have dominion over the fishes of the sea, over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moves over the earth."

PROPHETIC NARRATIVE—2 : 4B–25
CENTRAL THEME: THE CREATION OF MAN

7. And Jahveh Elohim formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life: and man became a living soul.

20*b*.—but for man there was not found any helpmeet/ suitable/ for him.

21. So Jahveh Elohim caused a deep sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept. And he took one of his sides, and he closed up the place with flesh.

22. And Jahveh Elohim formed the side which he had taken from the man into a woman, and he led her to the man.

23. And the man said, "Now this is bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh, this shall be called woman/ ishah/ because she has been taken from man."/ ish./

24. This is why a man shall leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they shall be only one flesh.

in his nostrils the breath of life.

12. Man made a living soul.
13. Woman created as a helpmeet for man.
14. Woman created by hand of God.

15. The destiny of the first pair—love.

25. And both of them, the man and the woman, were naked and they were not ashamed.

8. And Jahveh Elohim planted a garden in the East, in Eden, and he placed there the man he had formed.
10. A river came out of Eden, to water the garden, and from thence it divided to form four branches.
11. The name of the one is Pison: it is that which encircles the whole land of Havilah, where gold is found.
12. And the gold of that land is good, and there is found also the bdellium and the shoham-stone.
13. And the name of the second river is Gihon: it is that which encircles all the land of Cush.
14. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: it is that which flows before Assyria. And the fourth river is the Phrat.
15. And Jahveh Elohim took the man and placed him in the garden of Eden to cultivate it and to keep it.
16. And Jahveh Elohim commanded the man, saying, "Of every tree in the garden thou mayest eat
17. but of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil thou shalt not eat, for

16. A distinct moral obligation imposed on man, all things not lawful.

16. No command given to man, all things are lawful.

29. And Elohim said, "Behold I give you all herb bearing seed that is upon the surface of all the earth, and every tree that has a fruit producing seed, that shall be food for you."
30. "And to every animal of the field and to every fowl of the air and to every

THE CREATION STORY—CONTINUED

PRIESTLY NARRATIVE—1 : 1–2 : 4A CENTRAL THEME: THE CREATION OF THE WORLD	PROPHETIC NARRATIVE—2 : 4B–25 CENTRAL THEME: THE CREATION OF MAN
creeping thing upon the earth, in which there is the breath of life I give all green herbs for food." And it was so. 31. And Elohim saw all that he had made, and lo! it was very good. And there was evening and there was morning, a sixth day. . . . . . . 1. So the heavens and the earth were finished, and all their host. 2. And Elohim finished on the seventh day his work which he had made. And on the seventh day he rested from all the work which he had made. 3. And Elohim blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because on this day he rested from all the work which Elohim had created and made. 4. This is the genealogy of the heavens and the earth when they were created.	on the day that thou shalt eat of it thou shalt surely die."

It is apparent that we have here two parallel accounts of creation, one written by a prophet and one by a priest, differing in their language, style, view of nature, and in their philosophic, ethical, and religious ideas.

The story of the flood is not separated in our biblical text into two parallel narratives, but woven together into one continuous narrative ingeniously and with much skill. Yet the differences in language, etc., which we have found here in the creation story, have made it an easy task for scholars to separate the two strands of the deluge story, and each forms when thus separated a complete and consistent story of the flood.

III. Genesis and Semitic Mythology

(1) Creation Myth of the Semites.

When modern archæology unearthed and deciphered the cuneiform tablets of old Babylonia there was found in the library at Nineveh the complete Babylonian account of the creation. It opens with a description of the pre-created condition of the universe which was a primeval watery deep, over which ruled the god Apsu and the goddess Tiamat. Then came the great gods and with them the birth of order in the universe. Apsu was conquered, but Tiamat, the monstrous goddess of the watery deep, defied the gods. They appealed to Marduk, as their champion, to fight Tiamat, and he consented. After the great battle ends in victory for Marduk, he, as the vanquisher of Chaos, is given power to establish the ordered universe. Splitting Tiamat "as a flattened fish" into halves, he made of one-half the canopy of the heavens or firmament, to keep the upper waters from coming down, and of the other half he made the earth. Then he created the stars and the moon to mark the months and the days. Then he created man out of his own blood mingled with earth, and this marks the climax of his creative activity.

This creation epic thus describes in mythological terms the creation of the universe and man.

It will be well at this point to note the Semitic conception of the universe which this symbolism reveals. The earth is conceived of as shaped like a mountain range resting upon a subterranean sea (Apsu or Tiamat) whose waters surround the earth and come up through it in fountains and springs. Within the earth was the abode of the dead called Shualu (Heb., Sheol). Above the earth, resting on pillars, is the expanse or firmament of heaven, a solid dome designed to shut out the upper waters lest they engulf the earth. In this are set the moon and stars, while the sun moves across the firmament, arriving and departing through doors or gates. The firmament was provided with trap-doors, called the windows of heaven, through which the rain came. That this was likewise the Hebrew idea of the universe is apparent from a perusal of Genesis and the nature psalms.

(2) The Flood Myth of the Semites.

The Babylonian flood myth is a part of the greatest literary production of the ancient Babylonians—"The Epic of Gilgamesh," written at Erech about 3000 B. C. (which also comes to us from the great library of Nineveh). It was in twelve cantos or books and these correspond to the signs of the zodiac. This Gilgamesh was the Babylonian Hercules and the poem narrates his wanderings and exploits. In quest of the tree of immortality, he finally crosses the waters of death to the Isle of the Blessed, where he finds Sit-Napistin, the Babylonian Noah, who in the eleventh canto of the poem tells him the story of the flood. The story is very long and should be read as a whole in its translated form to get its full significance. It is only possible here to say that to the minutest details it is so strikingly like our Bible story that no one can doubt that both stories came from the same original.

CHAPTER VII

THE MAKERS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Old Testament is not the work of a single epoch or individual, but contains a large number of books coming from various authors. All this has always been known, but the variety and complexity of this literature has only come with full force into the mind of to-day. Our modern study of the Old Testament has revealed many new facts regarding the authorship and history of this part of our Bible. The first question is as to its authors. Who wrote its books?

I. The Authors of the Old Testament

Modern scholarship has made plain certain facts regarding the authorship of our Old Testament:

(*a*) Genesis–II Chronicles, that blending of law and history in thirteen books of our present Old Testament, is only in part and germinally from Moses, the material being drawn from numberless sources.

(*b*) Job, Ruth, Esther, Malachi, and Jonah are anonymous.

(*c*) Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Proverbs are only traditionally of Solomonic authorship and this is a doubtful tradition.

(*d*) Psalms contains a few lyrics from David but is largely from other hands and from a later time.

(*e*) Ezra and Nehemiah are expanded from memoirs of these two leaders whose authorship is unknown.

(*f*) Daniel is a pseudonymous work, not written by Daniel, but about him.

It is obvious that about two-thirds of the Old Testament come from unknown authors. This is explained by

the long oral transmission of many of the earlier books, by the scant heed paid by the Oriental world then and now to authorship or copyright, and by the lack of all devices of transcription or printing such as we possess today.

The Old Testament is not a small group of completed books each by a single author, but a collection and compilation, or an anthology, culled from the literature of a people for one thousand years of its history. The Old Testament is thus vastly more valuable because it reflects not the life of a few individuals but of a whole race, upon whose life a distinct divine influence was at work. Coming up thus simply and naturally out of life itself, rather than being a set of artificial literary structures, the power, charm, and timelessness of the Old Testament are found not in the writings but in the many lives behind the writings, and in the life which they reveal.

The real study of the Old Testament must be to determine not its exact words but the nature of the life out of which it came. The first requisite in the approach to the Old Testament is the historical rather than the literary sense and passion.

As we look thus in this general way at the book we find that it has come to us through the work of four main groups or classes of thinkers and leaders in old Israel—the prophets, the priests, the philosophers, and the poets.

(*a*) To the prophets we owe the prophetical books from Isaiah to Malachi. We also owe the writing of the law and history of Israel from the prophetic standpoint. The prophet's interest was in the moral life of man and his purpose was to appeal to conscience. His style was vivid, picturesque, and interesting.

(*b*) The priests gave us also a historico-legal set of writings, which have been blended by later editors with the prophetic history and law to form the historical books of our Old Testament. The interest of the priest was in

custom and annals and ceremonial. His style was formal, precise, and repetitious.

(*c*) To the philosophers we owe the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Job. This philosophy was not abstract as that of Greece, and was a shrewd, practical wisdom. The style is sentential, pithy, ponderous, didactic.

(*d*) To the poets we owe the scattered lyric and epic poetry found embedded in the historical literature, and the larger poetical works—Psalms, Lamentations, and Song of Songs.

II. The Chronological Development of the Old Testament

We look now at the historical development of this varied literature, tracing it in its chronological unfolding. It will be of value to place the literature thus against its historical background.

(1) The Oral Period (———–1000 B. C.).

Before the days of David and Solomon all the literature known to the Hebrews was a mass of sagas and myths and stories and traditions of the earliest days, some of which was inherited from their ancestral Semitic forebears, some of which was the creation of the formative days of their own history. This source material upon which later writers drew may be roughly divided into:

(a) *Folk-lore.*

These are the inherited Semitic myths which are found much in evidence in Gen. 1–11. They are attempts to explain the origin of the world, of humanity, of primitive customs and institutions, of language, race, etc.

(b) *Traditions.*

These begin with the Abraham cycle and embody the popular beliefs regarding the origin of tribes and peoples, the character of early Hebrew heroes and leaders, the ori-

gin of sacred cities and customs, and the early history of Israel.

(c) *Popular Songs.*

Those have been already noted in passing. A complete list of these fragments and remainders that have been preserved in our Old Testament is as follows:*

Gen. 4:23, 24. Song of Lamech.
Gen. 9:25–27. Noah's Curse on Canaan, and Blessing on Japheth.
Gen. 27:27–29. Isaac's Blessing of Jacob.
Gen. 27:39, 40. Isaac's Blessing of Esau.
Gen. 49:2–27. Jacob's Prophecy of the Future of His Sons.
Ex. 45:1–18, 21. Song at the Red Sea of Moses and the Children of Israel, and of Miriam.
Ex. 20:2–17. The Ten Words.
Num. 10:35, 36. Words for the Taking Up and Setting Down of the Ark.
Num. 21:14, 15. Song of the Valley.
Num. 21:17, 18. Song of the Well.
Num. 21:27–30. Satire on the Fall of Heshbon.
Num. 23:7–10, 18–24; 24:3–9, 15–24. Oracles of Balaam, the Son of Beor.
Deut. 27:15–26. Curses of the Law.
Deut. 32:1–43. Song of Moses.
Deut. 33:2–29. Blessing of Moses.
Joshua 10:12, 13. Adjuration of Sun and Moon at Gibeon and the Valley of Aijalon.
Judges V: Song of Deborah and Barak.
Judges 9:8–15. Jothan's Fable of the Trees and Their King.
Judges 14:14, 18; 15:16. Samson's Riddle and Sayings.
I Sam. 2:1–10. Hannah's Prayer.

*This list is from Geden's "Introduction to the Bible."

I Sam. 18:7; 21:11. Celebration by the Women of David's Prowess.
II Sam. 1:19–27. David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan.
II Sam. 3:33, 34. Elegy on the Death of Abner.
II Sam. 22. David's Song of Deliverance.
II Sam. 23:1–7. Last Words of David.

(d) *Popular Proverbs.*

These were tersely coined phrases embodying the shrewd observation of life by the sages of early Israel.

(e) *Primitive Laws.*

These were in oral form, and were usually arranged in pentads or decalogues, so as to be memorized by association with the fingers of the hand. The most famous of these which was later written down is the decalogue in Ex. 20. Later, when judges were established by Moses, the judicial decisions on questions brought to them were gradually codified, but existed at first only in oral form. These judges were in the earliest times priests or prophets to whom all questions were referred as the divine representatives to the people. Since this custom was instituted by Moses, it became natural constantly to refer their sanctions back to Moses (just as the popes of the Roman Catholic Church derive their authority by a reference to Peter), and all these later decisions came to be prefaced by the phrase "God spake to Moses" and so have been popularly supposed to be from him directly.

(2) The First Literary Period (1000–950 B. C.).

The period of the united monarchy under David and Solomon marked the first beginnings of real literature, only, however, as yet in germinal form, a literary awakening which finally produced large results.

(a) *The Lyric Poetry.*

This was given impetus along religious lines by the work of David. From him come the two elegies (II Sam.

1:19–27 and 3:33–34), the song of thanksgiving (II Sam. 22), and an ode (II Sam. 23:1–7). He also began the work of creating that Hebrew collection of hymns called the Book of Psalms. They were all traditionally attributed to him but only a few are probably from his hand. They are Psalms 3, 7, 18, 30, 34, 37, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63, 142. The rest are of much later date.

(b) *The Wisdom Literature.*

This had its beginnings with Solomon, to whom again later tradition attributed all the wisdom literature. But only one composition in our Old Testament is certainly from his hand (I Kings 8:12–21). His contribution seems to have been largely the popularizing of the type of literature which is finally evolved into Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. The Song of Solomon is not from his hand, for he is its hero, not its author. The form of this literature which he set in motion and to which he may have contributed certain sayings was in couplets or quatrains, and is brief, pithy, shrewd, prudential, and soundly practical in character.

(c) *Collections of Literature.*

This period also marks the beginning of the collection of cycles of hero tales, of hymns and songs, of proverbs and maxims, and of brief and primitive codes of laws.

(3) The Early Histories of the Hebrew People (950–750 B. C.).

These two centuries of the divided kingdom with its conflicts and foreign alliances were not a time of great literary interest or production, but in this era there were written the first histories of the Hebrew nation by a school of prophetic writers, which we shall consider more fully in the next chapter.

(4) The Prophetic Sermons (750–450 B. C.).

This period of the decline and fall of the Hebrew nation was marked by the rise of the literary prophets,

whose collected sermons are the *first complete books* of our present Old Testament. All the preceding eras had been forming ever-larger groups of writings, but as yet none of these was completed in the form in which we find it in our Bible. These prophets were the supreme teachers of their people, and the books they wrote represent the high-water mark of the ethical teaching of the Old Testament. The first of these was *Amos* (750 B. C.), whose book is the *first complete book of our Old Testament.*

(5) The Books of Fiction, Poetry, Philosophy, and Apocalypse (450–150 B. C.).

During the three hundred years of the postexilic period a number of works came into their finished form. Some of them were fiction—like Ruth, Jonah, Esther, and the first part of Daniel, which are beautiful and splendidly written stories. Two great poetical works, the Song of Songs and the Psalms, also came from this period. From this same era came also the wisdom literature of Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes. Several of the above are the literary masterpieces of the Old Testament, and will be treated, together with a discussion of the distinctive qualities of Hebrew literature, in a later chapter. The latter part of Daniel is the sole representative in the Old Testament of that peculiar product of the Hebrew mind —apocalypse—with its symbolism, imagery, and vision form.

So by 150 B. C., in the eight hundred years since the formation of the nation, the entire Old Testament was compiled or written.

A bird's-eye view of the history of Old Testament literature is given in the chart, page 84.

PERIOD OF BIBLICAL HISTORY	(A) Prophecy	(B) Law and History		(C) Fiction	(D) Philosophy	(E) Poetry
I. Patriarchal Era (2040 B. C. to 1600)						
II. Settlement in Egypt (1600 to 1200)						
III. Period of Wanderings (1200 to 1150)						
IV. Settlement in Palestine (1150 to 1037)						
V. United Kingdom (1037 to 938)		(*Judicial Decisions*)	(*Folk-lore and Traditions*)	(*Hero Tales*)	(*Popular Proverbs*)	(*Popular Songs and Hymns*)
VI. Divided Kingdom (938 to 586)	Amos (750) Hosea (735) Isaiah (731 to 700) Micah (705) Zephaniah (625) Nahum (625) Habakkuk (607)	(*Primitive Codes*) (*Deuteronomic Codes*)	["J" (850)] ["E" (750)] ["JE" (650)]	(*Narratives of Kings*)	(*Collections of Proverbs*)	(*Books of War Poems and Hymns*)
VII. Babylonian Exile (586 to 537)	Jeremiah (605 to 586) Obadiah (572) Ezekiel (570) II Isaiah (550)	(*Ezekiel's Code*) (*Holiness Code*)	["D" (550)]		(*Proverbs, Maxims, and Essays*)	Lamentations (578)
VIII. Persian Rule (537 to 332)	Haggai (520) Zechariah (518) Malachi (460) Joel (380)	(*Priestly Codes*)	["JED" (520)] ["P" (450)]	Ruth (500)		(*Early Editions of Psalms*)
IX. Greek Rule (332 to 320)		All the above incorporated in our present Pentateuch—Joshua, Judges, I and II Samuel, I and II Kings (340) Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah (250)		Jonah (350)	Job (348 B. C.) Proverbs (335)	
X. Egyptian Rule (320 to 200)				Esther (250)	Ecclesiastes (225)	Song of Songs (300)
XI. Syrian Rule (200 to 142)	Daniel (165)					Psalms (150)

CHAPTER VIII

THE EVOLUTION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

I. The Evidences of Its Evolution

The chronology of the Old Testament literature reviewed in the last chapter completely changes the present arrangement of its thirty-nine books, which has a topical rather than a chronological basis. As the books now stand revealed in the real order of their creation they have made plain one of the most important and hitherto unrecognized facts regarding the Old Testament—that the whole Old Testament is an evolution, that, as thus rearranged, it represents in its moral and spiritual teachings a steady advance from lower to higher meanings. As proof of the fact of this evolution it will be well to survey in this light the whole Old Testament teaching on various fundamental themes.

(a) *The Evolution of the Horizon of Morality.*

The earlier books reveal plainly that Israel's thought and vision were distinctly localized and limited. The duty of justice, humanity, and kindness was only obligatory within the limits of the tribe or nation. Beyond that it was not binding (I Sam. 15:3; Ex. 12:35–36).

But the prophets, beginning with Amos (Amos 9:7), caught glimpses of the world-meanings of their religion and the larger horizons of morality (Isaiah 19:25), until in Jonah and II Isaiah we have expressions of the international scope of morality (Jonah 4:10–11; Isaiah 42:1–4, 45:1–7). So the group and tribal morality of early Israel was gradually expanded into a humanitarianism and tolerance which were made vital and beautiful at last in Jesus' doctrine of human brotherhood.

(b) *The Evolution of the Content of Morality.*

This is clearly revealed in the history of the evolution of law among the Hebrews. The earliest known code of laws (Ex. 34) shows plainly that religion is to be defined in terms of custom and ritual without any real morality involved. For this decalogue is concerned with trivial details of customary acts, not with vital matters of human conduct. The next stage is represented by the civil, social, and humane laws in Ex. 21–23, "The Book of the Covenant," which deal with the rights of slaves, social purity, and similar matters, and show a slight advance in moral consciousness. There follows next in point of time the famous decalogue of Ex. 20, which came from the prophetic school, and marks a distinct growth in moral perception and the retirement of ceremonial into a subordinate place, since only three of the commandments are concerned with forms and observance. As we go on to the next stage as represented by the Book of Deuteronomy, which was the product of the influence of the great eighth-century prophets, we reach the high-water mark of Old Testament legislation. For these laws appeal for their sanction not to the fear of punishment but to the individual conscience. They have a high standard of justice, but even more a noble ideal of mercy and kindness. They embody those ideals of social righteousness that animated Amos and Isaiah, and reflect their deep reverence for God that culminated in a religion not of mere formal worship or legalism but of personal love. They are infused with a deep feeling of reverence for man and love for God. It is to this group of laws that we owe the famous "Shema" (Deut. 6:4), which every Hebrew child learned at his mother's knee, and which Jesus quotes as the essence of the Old Testament.

Moreover, we find a similar advance in the doctrine of individual virtue. At first this consisted in careful observance of all holy days, customs, and ceremonials. Then with

the great eighth-century prophets we find the insistence upon righteousness of conduct as the standard of life (Micah 6:8). But even at this period and through many later centuries the idea prevailed that the reward of virtue, individual or national, was material prosperity and well-being (Psalm 1). The later literature shows that this idea was questioned by those who better understood the content of morality; and the Book of Job was written to show that material rewards and penalties are not conditioned upon moral character, but that the real rewards of religion lie in the spiritual riches and inward peace it bestows, an idea which became dynamic as enunciated plainly in the beatitudes of Jesus.

(c) *The Evolution of the Idea of Man.*

In all its earliest stages the Hebrew mind conceived of the individual as merged in the group, tribe, or nation. It thought of the individual man as having no separate rights before God (Joshua 7; II Sam. 11:1–9; Ex. 20:5). This idea persisted for centuries. Even Deuteronomy is based upon it. So there was among the Hebrews the idea of collective sin, collective responsibility, and collective punishment (Gen. 6:1–7). Even the great ethical prophets, addressing the nation, warn that national sin and even individual sin like that of a king (Hosea 1:4) will bring a collective punishment. But the later prophets began to question that doctrine and to plead for the individual as possessing distinct rights and privileges apart from the nation, until we finally find Ezekiel championing a complete and definite individualism (Ezek. 18). And the psalms of this later era are lyric expressions of the value of the individual man and the worth of the individual life.

(d) *The Evolution of the Idea of God.*

The basic idea upon which all these concepts of group and personal morality were builded was the idea of God. And as we trace that idea through our chronological Old

Testament we find here the clearest proof of the evolutionary process, so it deserves a more detailed analysis.

The earliest conception of God, which is closely akin to the beliefs of the other Semitic nations, reveals a very limited idea of the Divine Being, humanized and localized.

In the pre-Mosaic period, as the early prophetic histories show, Jehovah was worshipped at various local shrines, in which the primitive mind could best realize his presence. He was worshipped at the oak of Shechem (Gen. 12:6), the terebinths of Hebron (Gen. 13:18), and the grove of Beersheba (Gen. 21:33). These are plainly survivals of the old Semitic idea of trees as homes of the gods. Stones are also set up as shrines for the deity (Joshua 24:26–27; Gen. 28:22). Mountains occupy a similar place in early Hebrew religion. Sinai was the cradle of the Jehovah faith; and Tabor, Carmel, and Zion became its later abodes. All this plainly indicates the localizing of God at various individual sanctuaries, with clear evidence of a rivalry between them as to supremacy, whose echoes follow us into the New Testament (John 4:20). Then the ark, a movable shrine where deity dwelt perpetually, supplanted the fixed local shrines (II Sam. 6:22), until its lodgement at Jerusalem centralized all worship there for the remainder of Old Testament times; a focalization which was enhanced by the system of sacrifice and ritual centred on Mount Zion by the priesthood. But this one important fact emerges out of this survey—that Jehovah and his worship were definitely limited within the borders of Palestine, which was his own land, and of this the earlier Old Testament offers abundant proof (Gen. 4:14; I Sam. 26:19–20; II Kings 5:17). He thus became naturally purely a tribal and national deity; as much the God of Israel as Chemosh was the god of the Moabites. Inevitably on such a view his domain and rule were only absolute within Palestine. And this produced in time the central idea of Judaism through all its

history, that they were Jehovah's "chosen people," bound to him by peculiar and mutual covenant relations; so Judaism has always been passionately exclusive in life and religion. As a national deity he thus revealed himself not so much through nature as through national history; and narratives of such revealings abound in the Bible from the sermons of the Old Testament prophets to the addresses of Stephen and Peter. As a national God he was conceived as intensely and implacably partisan, loving Israel and hating all other nations. The moral reflexes of this were to make the Hebrews think that lying (Gen. 12) and dishonesty (Ex. 11:2, 12: 35–36) and the like were commendable in dealing with foreigners.

Coupled with this were certain moral limitations of the divine character. As guardian of his people against those nations that were his hereditary enemies as well as theirs, the early Hebrews conceived Jehovah as a fighting God, and called the record of their warfare with their neighbors "The Book of the Wars of Jehovah" (Num. 21:14). So ruthless was this militant Jehovah that Saul's failure to utterly destroy the Amalekites is represented as being punished by Jehovah's express command with the loss of his kingship (I Sam. 28:15–19). So Saul was apparently more humane than Jehovah. Of like nature is the naïve story of the Golden Calf (Ex. 32), which depicts God as being recalled from implacable wrath to his better self by the pleas of Moses. Such a God is a very human God indeed. And in such guise do the early legends of Genesis represent him as walking in the garden, smelling the sacrifice, talking with man, sewing fig-leaves for man's clothing. Moreover he shows the very human passion of wrathful jealousy, especially regarding his personal rights. Uzzah's sudden death because he touched the ark is explained as due to the capricious anger of Jehovah (II Sam. 6:7–9). Even more revealing is the story of David's census of Israel, which indicates

that Jehovah tempted him in order to have an excuse for punishing him (II Sam. 24). (This particular narrative was so repellent even to the crude moral sense of that time that the Chronicler in his later version transferred the responsibility for the temptation to Satan —I Chron. 21:1.) And to such a God, omnipotent and jealous and wrathful, was naturally attributed all human adversity—pestilence, famine, war, earthquake—as unexplainable uses of the power which it was often feared were signs of his anger. Even the prophets regarded them as punishments for sin (Amos 8). To Jehovah cruelty, caprice, vindictiveness, jealousy were all attributed; and low standards of human morality were believed to be sanctioned by him. All this reveals that God was by these early Hebrews made in the image of man rather than man in the image of God.

But when we pass out of the earlier period into the era of the eighth-century prophets there is so distinct an advance in the idea of God that he who runs may read. For both in their teaching and in their lives they reveal clearly that they had caught a new vision of Jehovah as one whose chief attribute is righteousness. He is no longer a God of jealousy and cruelty. One of the most striking illustrations of this evolution is given us in Hosea, where he repudiates the idea of an earlier age that the deed of Jehu in treacherously slaying the family of Ahab was pleasing to God (II Kings 10:30), but calls it plainly a crime hateful to God and meriting his punishment (Hosea 1:14). To the prophets he is not a capricious despot who may be placated by offerings and sacrifices, but one who demands from men, as they approach him, "clean hands and a pure heart." In passages of matchless eloquence and lofty idealism (Amos 5:21–25; Hosea 6:6; Isaiah 1:11–14) they all express their repudiation in Jehovah's name of sacrifice and mere ritual religion, and assert the moral character of their God—

his justice in Amos, his kindness in Hosea, his holiness in Isaiah; while Micah combines all three ideas in his classic summary of the prophetic view of God (Micah 6:6–8). Any study of the prophets, however superficial, reveals clearly how far they had risen above their predecessors in their vision of the character of God. And the concept of a transcendently holy God was later expanded into the glowing passages of Job, Second Isaiah, and the Psalms, where we find the most majestic thoughts of God in the whole Bible (Psalm 139), and the further idea of him as a God of mercy and grace no less than holiness (Psalms 103, 123).

The later prophets took that localized idea of God which some of the earlier prophets had to some extent already outgrown (Amos 9:7) and expanded it into the concept of a universal God, the God not only of Israel but of all the peoples of the earth (Jonah 4:9–11; Jer. 18:1–10, 12:14–16; Isaiah 45:22, 49:6, 51:4). He is no longer conceived of as limited to a little land and its people, but is the omnipotent and omniscient God of all the world.

By such stages then did the idea of God move forward from the crude and narrow concepts of the early Hebrew nomads to the world view of later Judaism. But it was not God who had changed, it was only that man had grown to better apprehend his real nature. And such indeed has always been the manner of God's revelation, not static but progressive, conditioned upon human receptivity. Of such nature may we believe on Jesus' authority is the method of divine revelation ever to be (John 16:12). To continue to interpret the Old Testament as all on a level, as has too often been done, is to do violence not only to these clear facts as to its evolution but to our religion itself, which must always depend upon our idea of God. To conceive of these crude and immoral ideas about God as part of an inerrant "word of God" is to endanger our faith.

II. The Value of the Evolution of the Old Testament for Christian Faith

And so an appreciation of these facts regarding the evolution of the Old Testament and its gradual development in ethical and spiritual meaning is helpful for a proper understanding of the Old Testament and in the solution of its most vexing and vital problems.

(1) We do not need to try to harmonize it with itself. The Scriptures as a whole are not consistent or in complete harmony, not alone in minor matters of language, style, literary form, and historical statement, but in their moral teaching. This stands out clearly when we compare the Old Testament with the New. But even in the Old Testament the discrepancies and contradictions are numerous and confusing. On the theory of a Bible of equal value in every part, these questions thus raised cannot be answered. But a literature which comes as the result of a progressive unfolding of truth may well manifest such inconsistencies without invalidating its claims to belief.

(2) We do not need to apologize for crudities of thought or life as revealed in the Bible.

These will be found upon investigation to be (like the polygamy of the patriarchs, the cruelties of the conquest, etc.) part of the earlier stages of Hebrew life and thought. They represent the first crude conceptions of religion and morality which were made obsolete in the progressive understanding of ethical and spiritual truth. All students of the Bible, even the most literal fundamentalists, grant that the laws of Leviticus were supplanted by the Christian revelation of the New Testament and are no longer binding on the conscience, since they represent an early stage of religious life superseded by New Testament ideals.

(3) We do not need to resort to allegorical interpre-

tations to explain the very real moral problems presented by these Old Testament ethical and spiritual conditions.

From earliest days these difficulties confronted earnest students of Scripture, and from the days of Philo, who was a contemporary of Jesus, the resort was had to allegorical interpretation. This method was to change the simple, obvious literal meaning to a "deeper" or esoteric or hidden meaning. Thus Philo held that the four streams of Eden were to be interpreted as Prudence, Courage, Self-Control, and Justice. The Christian theologians found refuge in the same method of escape from the moral problems presented by the obvious meanings of the statements of Scripture. And the insistence upon literal acceptance of all its words as divinely infallible led to the result that war, witchcraft, slavery, fanaticism, etc., have been defended by appeal to the Bible through the ages. And Bradlaugh and Ingersoll had only to read passage after passage containing these crudities to their audiences and then say "Is this your God?" to wreck the faith of thousands, for the question was overwhelming and unanswerable. This was the method of argument in Ingersoll's famous "Mistakes of Moses."

To escape the disastrous results for faith involved in this literal interpretation, the allegorical method was used throughout Christian history from the days of Augustine and Jerome to our own day.

The primary difficulty with this method is that by it we can read into the Bible words anything we please, and so the most curious and contradictory types of teaching, cults, and sects have been able to prove their ideas biblical by the use of this method.

No such method is necessary if we recognize the cruder elements of Bible statement that do not square with our modern ethics or religion as the first attempts of humanity to know God and duty. The Bible is a book of life, showing God at work in the life of a race, bringing it for-

ward slowly but surely to an understanding of truth and goodness. The Old Testament, when arranged in its chronological order, shows so plainly this process of growth that evolution is the one key that unlocks its real meaning. It is the only solution of this most serious problem of moral errors in our Bible which neither denial nor ingenious interpretation can remove.

CHAPTER IX

PROPHET AND PRIEST

I. The Evolution of the Prophet

Early man sought to find through some form of external revelation the messages of the gods to men. Thus changing phases of sun, stars, or clouds, voices of birds, the appearance of entrails of animals offered in sacrifice, sacred trees and groves, the lot and the ordeal—all these were conceived to be in some way manifestations of the divine will to man. So a host of astrologers, soothsayers, diviners, wizards, and necromancers arose who professed to be able to interpret these divine revelations. Some of these interpreters were held in special reverence, notably those who entered into a state of ecstasy in which it was believed they became veritable mouthpieces of deity. Such people (as, for example, the Pythian priestess) were called by the Greek term "prophetes," which means "one who speaks for God" and which has been used to denominate the interpreters of God's will ever since classic days, as found in all nations.

That the Hebrews shared these ideas and superstitions with other nations is amply evidenced in the Bible. Divination was practised by liquids in a cup (Gen. 44:5), by the sacred lot (Joshua 18:10; I Sam. 14:41), by the urim and thummim (Ex. 28:30; I Sam. 28:6). David believed he heard God in the rustling of the wind in the leaves (I Chron. 14:15). But in the case of Israel these magical and superstitious beliefs and practices were soon considered as illicit and wrong, and very early in her history we find strong words of condemnation spoken against such practices, which were considered heathenish (II Kings 17:15–18).

The direct forerunners of the Hebrew prophets are

found among their Arabian ancestors in the "Kahins" (or "seers"), men who were believed to possess direct divine knowledge because they saw the gods face to face. Such men did not resort to magic or incantation or frenzy as did the astrologers and diviners of Babylon, Egypt, or Greece; and so there is in their oracles a dignity and sincerity which these others did not possess.

Among the Hebrews in their earliest history we find three designations for prophet. The first is "Roeh" (or "diviner"). He seems to have been a priest who divined the hidden meaning of sacrifices or such objective signs of the divine will. The second is "Hozeh" (or "seer"). He was supposed to possess clairvoyant power, or to behold the divine message in a vision of his inner consciousness. For a fee he would find lost property (I Sam 9: 1–9). The third term is "Nabi" (or "inspired one"). It was originally applied to men who became frenzied or in ecstasy and in this state revealed the divine will. These crude early prophets seem to have formed themselves into groups, and expressed themselves by ecstatic dancing and singing (I Sam. 10:9–12, 19:18–24). As prophecy developed, this last word "Nabi" was applied almost exclusively to the prophets, and the crudity of emotional excess and ecstasy gradually fell into the background. The later Nabis are theologians, teachers, and reformers.

Moreover, the later usage of the word means simply one who speaks for or proclaims God to men, and the method of the revelation (sometimes by vision, sometimes by ecstasy) is subordinated to the inner meaning of the message. These later Hebrew prophets were men who were sure that God had spoken directly to them a message which they must impart to men. God spoke to them through vision, dream, or objective sign, but the form of the communication was unimportant. Their real knowledge of God's will came from the inward life which they lived in fellowship with him.

They were primarily interested in their own day rather than the future. Our common use of the word "prophet" as one who sees the future is due to a misunderstanding of these men, in that the very small part of their words which were an attempt at prediction have been made, by a superficial study of the Old Testament prophets, the all-important part of their teaching. They were intensely and vitally interested in politics, business, and the social order, and their purpose was to change the life of Israel to conform to the great principles of God. So they possessed not so much foresight as insight. They read the deeper meanings of contemporary life and interpreted them clearly. Their timelessness and power consist in the fact that human nature is much the same in all ages, so that their messages meet human life to-day as fully as when they were first spoken.

II. The Prophet and the Nation

It is significant of the close relation the Hebrew prophet bore to the national life and a confirmation of the really divine inspiration of these prophets that at each great social, political, or religious crisis of Israel's history God seems to have raised up a prophet to meet it.

The first great crisis came in the days of enslavement in Egypt, and the first great prophet, Moses, arose to meet it. His traditional transformation into a mere law-giver has belittled his real work, which was the inspiration of his nation with his own great conception of God as a God of justice and power who would deliver and lead his people Israel. This great idea he stamped upon their consciousness for all time.

The second crisis was that of the settlement in Palestine, when the faith and national existence alike were threatened with overthrow by the Canaanites, and Deborah arose to save Israel by an appeal to that common

faith in God which alone could hold together and deliver the nation.

The third crisis came in the subsequent struggle with the Philistines for tenure of the land already conquered. Their military genius menaced Israel, and Samuel arose in this emergency to inspire Saul, the virile warrior, with the vision and valor to deliver his people and become their king. So the prophet Samuel was rightly regarded as the creator of the Hebrew kingdom.

The fourth crisis came when Ahab in his zeal for power formed alliances with Canaanite and Phœnician and opened the doors to their debasing Baal worship. To save the Jehovah religion from extinction there emerged the virile and heroic figure of Elijah, whose fearless championship of Jehovah set in motion that wave of religious reform that Elisha, his disciple and successor, brought to high tide.

The fifth crisis came when Assyria threatened with overthrow the two Hebrew kingdoms in the eighth century B. C. There arose to rebuke the folly and weakness of Israel's kings, the blindness of her priests, and the sin of her people the four great prophets—Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah—whose unselfish patriotism, clear ethical insight, broad vision of life, and deep religious faith make them timeless teachers of humanity.

It is thus obvious that the prophets were no accident, for each so met the needs of his time that we cannot but feel that God really did call them, as they all so fully believed themselves, to be his spokesmen and messengers.

III. The Great Ethical Prophets and Their Literature

The teachings and addresses of the earlier prophets are known only through allusions and indirect references, and it is not until we reach the eighth century that we find the attempt to preserve their words, either by the

prophets themselves or by their disciples. So with these prophets we begin our consideration of the prophetic literature.

(1) The Eighth Century B. C.

Under Jeroboam II in the northern, and Uzziah in the southern kingdom Israel in the eighth century reached the zenith of her material power and prosperity. For it was a time when the buffer states of Palestine, lying between the two centres of ancient civilization, were left in peace. The decline of the Syrian power before Assyrian attacks had so weakened this ancient foe and rival of the Hebrews that Israel began to take over world trade and became suddenly prosperous. Their temporary immunity from attack brought a false optimism and dreams of material growth and greatness. Cities sprang up like mushrooms, in which the merchant classes supplanted the middle class of earlier days, and the farms were seized by these wealthy merchant princes, and the free agriculturists were made virtual serfs of the soil. So as the middle class thus disappeared, the rich grew richer and the poor poorer. Corruption invaded the court and market-place; greed and graft were everywhere. The home lost its purity; dissoluteness and vice flourished. The church became enslaved by wealth, and religion became mere formalism. King, priest, and people were obsessed by dreams of imperialism, and outwardly Israel's life was showy and splendid. But it was only a veneer of culture and wealth and beneath was corruption and death. This sudden rise to power had created a half-baked civilization; as one prophet truly said: "Ephraim was a cake not turned" (Hosea 7:8). Here were all the sins of a mushroom civilization based on wealth, and somehow the picture is strangely and disturbingly modern. It was the glory of the prophets that they alone saw and proclaimed the deeper moral meanings of their time, that they dared to arraign their day and summon people, priest, and king

to repentance and reform. These great ethical prophets possessed a passion for righteousness, and their insight and conscience for truth and justice is amazing. It will be best to review their writings in the order of their historical appearance.

(2) Amos (750 B. C.).

Amos was a rude shepherd (1:1, 7:14) who lived in the desert of Tekoa south of Jerusalem. His visits to the great cities of Israel had shown him the sins and corruption of the life of the nation. His long hours of vigil guarding his sheep against the lions of the desert gave him the thought that Israel was likewise menaced by the lurking lion of Assyria and was in terrible danger. His shepherd instincts led him to feel that he must warn his nation and recall them to God. Thus simply, without any vision or ecstasy, in his own soul through meditation, he came to feel that he had heard a call from God. So he came to Bethel with soul on fire and began to speak. His first sermon is a masterpiece of impassioned oratory (chaps. 1–3). In it he proclaims the wrath of angry Jehovah (1:2) against all the hereditary enemies of the northern kingdom, even including Judah. Then suddenly he turns on Israel and scornfully sets beside the sins of ignorance and barbarism the sins of a privileged people, which are infinitely more heinous. And the climax of the sermon contains (3:2) one of the greatest ethical statements of human history, *first* proclaimed by Amos, that privilege involves corresponding responsibility, that God expects more from men who have had the larger opportunity, a principle asserted more plainly by Jesus (Luke 12:48). The continuing sermons of Amos arraigning so sternly the shallow nationalism and formal religion of the leaders as well as the sins of the people, finally brought Amos before Amaziah, the high priest of Bethel, who, on the ground that he was a traitor and a blasphemer, ordered him out of Bethel in the name of the

church and the king. But as George Adam Smith well says: "The banished prophet began to write, and those words which might have died out amid the noises of old Bethel were clothed upon with the immortality of literature." For being banished, he probably returned to Tekoa and wrote down the substance of his preaching at Bethel, which is thus happily preserved for us in the book that bears his name.

It is a great book, viewed now as we can view it, against its historical background. Amos challenges and repudiates the three leading ideas of his day as false. The first was the dogma of the Chosen People—that Israel was the one people of Jehovah, as necessary to him as he was to them, a favored race who would be his pet people no matter what they did. This Amos indignantly denies (9:6–7). God has no favorites, all nations are his own. The second idea was that of the Religion of Ritual—that outward forms and ceremonies are the vital element of religion. Scornfully he repudiates this (5:21–24) and declares that only a religion of righteous life and holy character is acceptable to God. The third idea was the Cult of Prosperity—that Israel's wealth was the chief end of her existence and the one basis of her future greatness. But Amos holds them up to scorn, with a scorching arraignment of those terrible social sins that greed for wealth creates (5:1–17), and warns them of their imminent destruction (6:1–6). How modern all this is can be seen when we compare with those fallacies of Israel the pet ideas of our day—the Supremacy of the Nordic, the Religion of Isms in our modern churches, and the Idolatry of Wealth in our modern world. Amos is one of the greatest spokesmen of God to our age as to his own.

(3) Hosea (740 B. C.).

Very different in spirit and message is Amos's contemporary, Hosea. He was a native of Israel and lived under the same conditions in the nation as Amos. But

while he rebukes the sins of his people there is more of sympathy in his heart for them. He received his call in a personal experience within his home. His wife was unfaithful and left him heart-broken with his children. She falls at last into slavery, and the natural feeling of Hosea might well have been that she was paying the deserved penalty for her sin. But he could not cease to love her even in her shame and so he redeemed her and brought her back into his home. And in this tragedy of his own life there was revealed to Hosea the heart of God, and he saw that God was a suffering God, that Israel's idolatry was like the unfaithfulness of his prodigal wife, but that God still loved his people and would redeem them and bring them back to his loving heart. All this the prophet sets forth in the introduction to his book (chaps. 1–3). It is the sublimest revelation of God we find anywhere in Scripture until Jesus uttered the parable of the Prodigal Son.

(4) Isaiah (737–701 B. C.).

Isaiah is the great statesman-prophet. Born in Jerusalem, and of wealthy and cultured parents, he chose the unpopular career of a prophet, receiving a call in a vision in the temple (chap. 6) which made plain to him the sovereignty of the holy Jehovah. For fifty years Isaiah, with this great vision in his heart, tried to keep his people's faith in their Jehovah, and warned again and again against "entangling alliances" which the foolish kings were seeking in panic fear before the menace of Assyria. Warning, denunciation, and comforting assurance are the motifs of his many sermons. These are gathered in the book that bears his name in chaps. 1–39, where his writings end, the latter part of the book coming from a different age and hand.

(5) Micah (720 B. C.).

At the height of Isaiah's career Micah appeared in the hill country of Judah. He was a countryman and from the

peasantry, and to him the wrongs that stirred his soul were the oppression of his class by the wealthy. He was thus the first Socialist. His is a terrific message that scorches like fire (chaps. 2–3) as he champions the cause of the poor. To him Jerusalem was builded with blood (3:10) and he scourges the rich unsparingly. His message is even more terrible than Amos's. But in this flood of wrath is one passage he has given us about the Reasonableness of Religion (6:1–8) in which occurs the *greatest text in the Old Testament* (6:8) and one of the best definitions of religion ever given.

(6) The Book of Deuteronomy.

At the end of this eighth century and the beginning of the seventh a group of disciples of these great ethical prophets, inspired by their ideals, wanted to make more permanent in Hebrew life the great prophetic principles. So they began the formulation of a book in which these new standards of life are expressed in a set of laws, modifying and revising the older laws, and putting the laws in a framework of oratory, which is represented as spoken by the first great prophet—Moses. The book was completed during the reactionary reign of Manasseh, and was placed for safe-keeping in the temple. Later in Josiah's reign, in 621 B. C., it was discovered and promulgated by the king as the basis of sweeping reforms in the nation. So in this strange way the ideas of these great prophets finally resulted in profound changes in the life of Israel.

(7) The Prophetic Histories.

The same influences that led the prophetic group to desire legislation to embody their ideas led in an earlier period to the desire to write the history of their people. In the period just before Amos a group of prophetic historians in the southern kingdom wrote the oldest Hebrew history, known to scholars as the Judean Prophetic History (800 B. C.). In a series of connected nar-

ratives (beginning at Gen. 2:4) the myths of earliest days and the legends and epics of later Israel were drawn upon as material. It has a vivid, simple, flowing, narrative style and uses "Jehovah" as the name of God (so it is sometimes called the Jehovistic Narrative). It carries the history down to the time of the creation of the monarchy.

A little later, in the northern kingdom, a group of prophets similarly desirous of writing history gave us a history of Israel from the standpoint of the northern kingdom. Since this was by its inhabitants called Ephraim, this is known as the Ephraimite Prophetic History (B. C. 750). It reveals less interest in events than in personalities. The traditions used have been changed and refined. It is less crude and simple in its ideas. It uses the word "Elohim" for God (so it is sometimes called the Elohistic Narrative).

Both these histories were combined by the prophetic group of Judah in the late seventh century, and this united prophetic history, as was natural, is largely the Judean History, supplemented by extracts from the Ephraimite History.

(8) The Later Prophets and Their Literature.

The prophets of Judah's decline and fall were Nahum (625), who depicts the downfall of Assyria, Zephaniah (625), Habakkuk (607), with his prediction of the fall of Babylon, and Jeremiah (605–585) the martyr prophet of Judah's fall.

To this and the immediately succeeding period of the Exile belong Ezekiel (592–570), the "Shepherd of the Exiles," Obadiah (572) and Haggai and Zechariah (520), who kept alive the zeal of religion to rebuild the temple. To this same period belongs the Great Unknown (550), called II Isaiah, whose great addresses are gathered in our present Book of Isaiah beginning with chapter 40.

The last days of the nation saw the writing of Joel, the "Rhapsody of the Locust Plague" (380), Malachi, an anonymous book, urging a puritanic zeal for religion; and the strange Book of Daniel (165 B. C.), written during the Maccabean Era. Its first part is a piece of fiction or a cycle of stories about Daniel; the second part is an apocalypse, a series of symbolic visions, whose purpose is to predict the overthrow of the Syrian tyrant, Antiochus Epiphanes.

IV. The Rise of the Priests

The Exile marked the rise to power of the priests, a class of teachers in Judaism that had always existed, but had been overshadowed by the prophets. They early exercised a fourfold function clearly set forth in Deut. 33:8–10—guardians of the sacred oracle; judges; teachers; celebrants of sacrifice at the altars.

In later Israel they had a threefold function—to guard the sanctuaries; to preserve the traditions and institutions which gathered about the sacred shrines; to teach the people how to live. This latter task led to the creation of priestly laws and ordinances. Later the priests largely were concerned with ritual and the sacrifices of the temple. So long as the national life continued, the prophets continued to preach, but as it declined, their influence declined also, and with the Exile their power ended and their voice was silenced and the priests became the supreme teachers of Israel.

V. The Priestly Laws and History

The priests were naturally concerned, in this exilic and postexilic period, to retain the customs, rules, ritual, and traditions of Israel that her religion might not perish in a strange land; so they began to write and as a result we have the priestly laws and history. Their literary activity extended over two centuries (B. C. 600–400),

coming to an end in the great reformation of 400 B. C. with the acceptance of the law-book of Ezra.

The first great task was the codifying of the ceremonial laws and ritual regulations. All these assume the central sanctuary to be the temple, with a Levitical priesthood and belief in an exalted God, and are put in the wilderness period, as though promulgated by the mouth of Moses. These elaborate laws are in our Old Testament largely found in Leviticus and the legal part of Exodus and Numbers; and are known as the Priestly Codes.

Led by the desire to set these laws in a framework of history to show the origins and sanctions of these laws, the priests also wrote the history of their race. The earliest of these priestly histories begins with Gen. 1, which shows the origin of the Sabbath, and ends at Sinai, which furnishes the setting for all the priestly laws in the Pentateuch. The history concludes with an account of the occupation of Canaan by the Hebrews.

Chronicles, a later history, was written by a Levite to parallel the prophetic history of the Hebrew state told in Samuel and Kings (which books as we have them are prophetic in origin). The interest centres not in the state but in the church and in religious institutions. The same material is used as in Samuel–Kings, but has been exaggerated, supernaturalized, distorted, and the whole past idealized by tradition. To this chronicler's ecclesiastical history were added as an appendix the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

VI. The Completed History and Law

Under the influence of the priests, later editors, living in the third pre-Christian century, combined all this preceding material from prophetic and priestly hands, using the priestly history as a basis. The priestly history was retained almost in its entirety. Thus, for example,

we have the complete priestly story of creation (Gen. 1:1–2:3) and only a fragment of the prophetic story (Gen. 2:4–23). Into this framework of the priestly history the more detailed prophetic narratives were fitted.

The result is exceedingly interesting. Sometimes the editor retained the two sources, priestly and prophetic, side by side, as in the creation stories. Sometimes they were skilfully woven into a unified mosaic, as in the story of the flood. This long process of editorial revision, sometimes done with little skill, accounts for the many contradictions, discrepancies, repetitions, etc., with which our Old Testament history is filled.

The result of this long process is to give us our Old Testament History of Israel embodied in Genesis–Nehemiah. It has been the task and the triumph of modern scholarship to discover first these composite elements, and then to trace each strand to its origin. This has been possible because the differences of the prophetic and priestly elements are clearly marked. In vocabulary, style, view-point, teaching, they were totally unlike.

The prophet is primarily interested in righteousness, in the moral life of men. So he is seeking to relate the origin and history of the ethical life and social relationships of Israel. His style is vivid, picturesque, and interesting. To him we owe the matchless stories of the great characters of Israel's past.

The priest is interested in ritual and in institutions, ceremonies, and formal religion. His style is dry, precise, stilted, and repetitious. He is given to genealogies and detailed annals. His interest is in events rather than personalities.

Such marked differences have made it possible for scholars to separate the two strands combined in the present historical books of the Old Testament and to come to a practical agreement regarding the component parts.

CHAPTER X

THE HEBREW CLASSICS—PROVERBS, ECCLESIASTES, SONG OF SONGS

We come now to consider a group of books in our Old Testament which are the literary crown of the volume, the Hebrew classics, whose charm and power are universally acknowledged. They are all anonymous and some of them are compilations or anthologies drawn from many sources. Coming thus not from the mind and life of a few geniuses but out of the expanding consciousness of a nation through a long span of years, they may be truly said to be the efflorescence of the spirit of the Hebrew race.

I. The Book of Proverbs

A proverb may be defined as a brief saying which arrests attention by its truth and remains in the memory because of the felicity of its language. It represents the coined experience of mankind, which passes current as of real value. The Hebrew proverb, or "mashal," possessed in large degree this quality of literary charm and beauty which made it memorable. The proverbs were indeed words "fitly spoken like apples of gold in pictures of silver" (Prov. 25:11). And the truth contained in them is purposely condensed into the smallest possible compass, as the most effective means of teaching as conceived by the sages or wise men of old Israel. They believed with George Herbert that

> "A verse may find him who a sermon flies
> And turn delight into a sacrifice."

This brief, vivid, couplet form was the very climax of the art of the proverb-maker; and since this literary form was traditionally considered to be of Solomonic authorship, the entire collection came to be prefixed by his name, which means that the highest type of proverb came from him rather than that he was the author of all its sayings, which the book itself plainly indicates to be untrue (Prov. 24:23; 30:1; 31:1). The book as we have it is a collection from many authors and ages of the proverbs of the centuries.

These proverbs are exceedingly picturesque, many of them being vivid similes. Thus, for example, "The beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water" is plain to all who live by a stream where a little leak soon becomes a torrent of destruction. Some of these pictures are more elaborately drawn, like "the shiftless farmer" (24: 30–34). There are also "dark sayings" or riddles, whose purpose was to stir the curiosity to search for the somewhat obscure meaning (30:15–28). This was also the method of Jesus in his parables (Matt. 13:13). But in general the proverbs of this collection are brief, detached couplets in which in the form of contrast are set forth the oppositions of life: wisdom and folly, industry and sloth, etc. They are shrewd, keen, sometimes humorous, more often satirical (Prov. 26:16). And yet, unlike the proverbs of many other peoples, there is in this book no cynicism, with its contempt for man. Even the satire is a kindly satire. Moreover, they are marked by their universality, for, although Hebrew in origin, they embody the common experience of all peoples and all ages, and this gives them a timeless and universal value.

There is such endless variety in these thousand and one observations on life, the subjects treated are so various, that there might at first sight seem no unity in the book. And yet through all these jewels of truth runs a single string on which they are threaded. It is that of

wisdom. The book is intended to teach wisdom and explain wise conduct and life, and to show in contrast the nature of folly and the conduct of fools. What is this wisdom which is the focal idea of the book?

It is not to be identified with learning or cleverness. For both the learned and the clever may, by the standards of the Hebrew sages to whom we owe this book, be anything but wise. Nor is it to be identified with philosophy, as we commonly use that word. For the mind of the Hebrew was not speculative but intensely practical. So in concrete and visualized form this book presents the practical view of *life as it ought to be lived,* which is *wisdom.* The profoundly significant truth of this teaching is that to the Hebrew sage the moral and the intellectual were in entire harmony. To be righteous was wisdom, to be wicked was folly. This theme runs all through the Book of Proverbs (1:7; 9:10; 15:33). And to prove it the authors of these many sayings draw on their observation of life to show plainly how bad company (4:14–16), drunkenness (23:29–35), and lust (7:6–23) lead always to sorrow, pain, and shipwreck. And in contrast there are painted in glowing colors the beauty and value of wisdom, which reaches its climax in the sublime allegory of "Our Lady Wisdom" (1:20–33; 8:1; 9:5), dwelling as a queen in her pillared house. And all through the book the values and the rewards of the wise life are pictured (3:15–17; 4:7–9).

So this wisdom, thus earnestly enjoined, is right conduct and life to which the sages of old Israel sought to lead their people. Holding up in this book a mirror to life, the sage is not a poet seeing into the heart of things nor a prophet with a clear vision of the unseen, but one whose keen observation of life has convinced him that

> "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge;
> They are fools who despise wisdom and instruction."

The object of the book then is plain. It is a kind of guide-book for life, a Baedeker of the common way, pointing out the way of life and warning against the roads to destruction. It was especially intended as a help to the young, and frequently addresses itself to the young directly. It is not a book of inspiration or of deep spiritual power, but it is so sane, so wholesome in its outlook, so shrewd and practical in its suggestions and teaching that it deserves a larger place in the thought of to-day than it receives. It was once in Scotland used as a text-book in the schools, and the custom might well be revived more largely with profit and value.

II. Hebrew Poetry

The average reader of the Bible is unaware of how large a part of it is poetical; and as, up to our time, the Bible has been printed as prose, this ignorance is not at all strange. The reason why this fact of the biblical poetry was not recognized earlier or more universally is due to the peculiar form which Hebrew poetry assumes.

Poetry is differentiated from prose by three criteria—its thought, language, and form. The thought of poetry differs from that of prose in its quality. There is a glow, a fervor, a beauty in thought which leads us naturally into what we call the realm of poetry. The most elevated and the deepest thought only finds expression in poetry. Of such poetic thought our Bible is full from cover to cover, and innumerable instances will arise at once to mind. The language of poetry differs also from prose. It is more figurative and imaginative than prose. And here again it is obvious that large parts of the Bible are couched in this kind of language, for Hebrew itself is naturally suggestively picturesque, and thus exquisite imagery is on every page of the Bible. The poetical character of much of the book might have much earlier been recognized had it not been that the differentiation in

form between prose and poetry in Hebrew was so unlike that of any other literature. For the basic form which poetry assumes in classic and modern times is that of meter or rhythm, the recurrence of the same number of beats or feet in the line. To this is often added in English poetry the recurrence of similar sounds at the end of the line which we call rhyme. But Hebrew poetry has neither rhyme nor rhythm. So it was not until 1753 that Bishop Lowth discovered the lost clew to the Hebrew poetic form, which he asserted consists of what is known as parallelism, meaning that the same thought is expressed twice or thrice in parallel words, with but slight variation of language or ideas, thus:

"When I consider the heavens, the work of thy fingers,
The moon and the stars which thou hast ordained,
. . . . . .
What is man that thou art mindful of him,
And the son of man, that thou visitest him?"

Thus we see that in Hebrew we have not the rhythm of recurring sound as in rhyme, or of recurring beats as in meter, but the rhythm of recurring thought. Strange as it is to us, it has the same basic idea as our poetic form. Ours is a parallelism of sound, the Hebrew a parallelism of sense.

Thus understood, Hebrew poetry emerged from its long oblivion and in our day began to be printed in a form that conveyed its poetic value to the eye. In the Revised Version of the Bible a part of this poetry is printed in poetic form, and in such a work as Moulton's "Modern Readers' Bible" we find a complete reprint of all the poetry of the Bible.

Nor is this discovery of parallelism of mere literary value to the Bible student. Many an obscure passage becomes luminous as to meaning, and many a misunder-

stood passage is rightly seen, when this principle is applied to the interpretation. Thus, for example, in the Lord's Prayer most people stop at the end of its second line as though the first petition only asked for the hallowing of God's name. But it is, as so much of Jesus' teaching, poetical, and arranging it in the parallel form of Hebrew poetry it is transformed into a new significance.

"Our Father who art in heaven,
Hallowed be thy name,
Thy will be done,
Thy kingdom come,
On earth as it is in heaven."

There are thus three great petitions, for the hallowing of God's name, the doing his will, the coming of his kingdom—*all* three to be realized on earth as in heaven.

There are several well-recognized types of poetry—lyric, epic, and dramatic, to which may be added a fourth, didactic. The bulk of the Hebrew poetry was lyric poetry, and with this the Bible is filled. Lamentations and Psalms represent the largest collections of lyric poetry. Epic poetry is but scantily represented in the Bible and that largely in scattered fragments. Dramatic poetry is represented in our Bible by the Book of Job and the Song of Songs. Didactic poetry, or poetry used as a vehicle for instruction, is represented by Ecclesiastes. With so much of preface, we now shall briefly consider the four principal poetical books of our Old Testament.

III. Ecclesiastes

This book may be well called the Sphinx of Old Testament literature. The most various opinions have been held of it, since its teaching is so apparently contradictory, ranging all the way from stark pessimism to a serene satisfaction with life. So one commentator refers to it

as "The Book of the Two Voices," finding it an alternating strophe and antistrophe of joy and despair. Another calls it the "Old Testament Rubaiyat," and finds it the expression of that Epicureanism that bids us enjoy the present with no thought of the morrow. To explain its contradictory notes some scholars have sought to prove a duality or complexity of authorship, but this is far from conclusive; and the book is after all a unity from one man's mind and life.

The author is traditionally the Solomon of the Bible, and a superficial glance at the book might seem to confirm this. But a more careful perusal disabuses us of that idea, for the Hebrew word "Koheleth" means in its Greek form of "Ecclesiastes" the president of an assembly of debaters. (Ecclesiastes is not at all "ecclesiastical" and the English translation of "The Preacher" is not borne out in the book, which is in no sense a pious sermon but audacious and challenging.) To identify the vague allusion to the author as "Son of David" as equivalent to Solomon is pure assumption. A more thorough study of the book at once refutes its Solomonic authorship. Even so conservative a scholar as Delitzsch declares, after an examination of its linguistic peculiarities, that "if the book was written in the age of Solomon, there is no history of the Hebrew language." The truth is that the author is using a very common literary device, such as Browning did when he put his own ideas into the mouth of the dying Apostle John in his "Death in the Desert," or Burns in his "Scots, wha hae . . .," which expresses his own patriotic feelings on the lips of Robert Burns at Bannockburn. Solomon was thus chosen by the poet who wrote this book because his wisdom, wealth, and power made him a fit mouthpiece for the poet's own reflections on life. For the poem is a dramatic monologue on the question of the secret of human happiness. And with poetic fidelity to real life this monologue is not an ordered

philosophy but a confused and tumultuous clamor of the conflicting voices within the soul. And though the author is unknown, technical study of the book has led to the conclusion that it was written in the "midnight of legalism," about 200 B. C., in a time of disillusion and despair.

The book is arranged in no systematic way, but the interest centres in the reputed quest of Solomon for life's meaning. He tries in turn wisdom, pleasure, wealth, power; but none of these gives any real satisfaction—"Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." This pessimistic conclusion, whose refrain occurs several times in the book, has led to the idea that the book is a poem of despair. But other passages do not bear out this conclusion. Rather, the author finds that the meaning and value of life are found in the doing of one's work and the mere living of the normal life (2:24; 5:18–20; 9:7–10). The interest of the book to the modern mind is enhanced by the recognition that the author approached life in the scientific spirit, to find its facts in a thoroughgoing, honest search after truth. His conclusion is incomplete, largely because he had no knowledge of the divine love but only of divine law, and had no vision of immortality, this present life horizoning his thought. It is one of the most challenging books in the Bible, and its interest to the Christian lies in its revelation of that darkness of thought and life that preceded the dawn of Christianity.

Near its close is one of the most exquisite poems in all literature—"the sonnet on old age" (chap. 12). It is a whole gallery of images portraying the phenomena of old age.*

IV. The Song of Songs

The added phrase "which is Solomon's" is not in the original title of the book but is an addition by later hands.

*A fine exposition of its various symbols will be found in Moulton's "Modern Readers' Bible."

The true title is "The Song of Songs," or "The Supreme Song."

It is confessedly one of the most difficult books in our Bible because it obviously contains so much rich, opulent, and sensuous imagery of human passion, so frankly expressed with true Oriental abandon that it has been repellent to the sanctimonious and prudish mind. In order to allow it to remain in the sacred collection the obvious meanings have been explained away, and refined by allegorical and esoteric interpretation both by Jewish and Christian commentators. The most familiar of such interpretations is the one which regards it as an allegory of the love of Christ for the Church, which was adopted in the King James Version. This has, however, been so repugnant to good taste (as, for example, to put in Christ's mouth the language of 4:1–5) that in our day the poem is regarded in its original and rightful character as a poem of human love between the sexes, an Oriental love lyric.

As to its literary form, however, its modern interpreters are divided, two conceptions of the book being held. One regards it as a collection of love-songs exchanged between two lovers, possibly written to celebrate the nuptials of Solomon with the Egyptian princess. This view is held by Moulton. The other school regards it as a drama in which there are three characters—Solomon, the maid of Shulem, and her shepherd lover—and that the book depicts the triumph of true love over false. This view was first propounded by Driver. Although the literary form is apparently lyric, a quasi-dramatic quality is obviously seen, and the mingling of lyric and dramatic strains, while it makes the detailed arrangement of the poem difficult, makes also the second interpretation the more consistent and fitting. Moreover, as will be seen, it gives the book a real ethical message.

Taking, then, this interpretation, we find the poem to

be a cycle of dramatic love-songs woven about this simple theme: That on a visit to the north, at a rustic place called Shulem, Solomon saw a beautiful maiden whom he wooed and carried away to his harem in Jerusalem, where he sought to dazzle her with his splendor and power; but that the maiden, already in love with a simple shepherd of the hills, remained true to her humble lover and, finally repulsing the king, went back to her shepherd. And the meaning of the poem is summed up in the refrain of 8: 6–7, in which love is exalted over lust and we see the "victory of the heart over the harem."

As a piece of literature the book is a gallery of exquisite pictures, like the little "poem of Spring" in 2: 10–13, full of color and music. And the imagery is that of the country, with its brooks and hills and vineyards and meadows, amid the beauties of nature. The reader who desires to know its literary charm will do well to read Jastrow's "Song of Songs," in which its full beauty is set forth in his own translation.

The book, then, has a real and perennially vital message for humanity. For nothing is so fundamental as the pure human love of man and woman, and this book, with all its sensuous language (which is but the Oriental form of expression unlike our more reserved speech), has a real value and place in the Bible.

CHAPTER XI

THE HEBREW CLASSICS—PSALMS, JOB

I. The Book of Psalms

This book is by common consent the best-beloved book in the Old Testament, and its phrases have become a part of our lives, until, from the "first fond prayers of childhood" to "the last low whispers of our dead," all our speech is instinct with its music. And the reason was long ago expressed by Calvin in his commentary on the Psalter: "No one can feel a movement of his spirit which is not reflected in this mirror. All the sorrows, troubles, fears, doubts, hopes, perplexities by which the hearts of men are tossed have been here depicted to the very life." It is indeed a mirror of the soul.

The book as we have it is a collection of Hebrew lyrics in which that lyric genius which was the native gift of the Jewish race finds its highest expression in this religious poetry. A lyric poem is, as the name indicates, intended to be sung to the accompaniment of the "lyre." The Greek name "psalmos" given in the Septuagint translation to these poems was a translation of the Hebrew term "mizmor"—"a song set to stringed instruments"—an obvious reference to the fact that these songs were used in the services of the Temple.

There are 150 of these songs or psalms grouped in five books or groups, as follows: (1) Psalms 1–41, (2) 42–72, (3) 73–89, (4) 90–106, (5) 107–150. Each of these books or divisions ends with a doxology, Psalm 150 being the final doxology of the whole book. This fivefold division was probably made to correspond to the five books of the law.

The collection as a whole has been commonly known as

the "Psalms of David," and consequently many have assumed that he wrote them all. This, however, is denied by the book itself, since about half of the superscriptions added by later editors ascribe them to other authors, like Asaph, etc. The truth is that only a comparatively small number of psalms are from David, but the instinct that led to his choice as the traditional author of the book as "the sweet psalmist of Israel" (II Sam. 23:1) was after all a true one. For the spirit of the entire collection is Davidic. His humility and contrition, his spiritual sensitiveness, his tender heart, his idealism, his personal faith as revealed in I and II Samuel in the story of his life—all these are reflected in the psalms. His spirit broods over them all. In this sense they are the psalms of David.

However, a critical examination reveals that many of the psalms are from the exilic and postexilic period and some even from the days of the Maccabees. As a matter of fact, what we have here is the compilation of the Hebrew religious poetry of about 800 years, which expresses the religious aspirations and feelings of an entire people and of many centuries rather than of any single author, all of which make it of greater value.

The book as a whole corresponds closely to our church hymnals, and was used largely in public worship, some of the psalms being anthems of elaborate structure rather than congregational songs. It was the hymn-book of the Jewish Church.

In this connection it may be of interest to digress for a moment to consider Hebrew music. It was, as far as we know, a rather crude affair. There was no harmony, the music consisting of unison chants. Guilds of temple singers arose and many psalms were sung antiphonally by various choirs. There was also orchestral or instrumental accompaniment. These comprised, among stringed instruments, the harp and lyre; as wind instruments, the horn, flute, and trumpet; as instruments of percussion,

the cymbals and tambourine. In the psalms occur directions as to orchestral accompaniment, "Neginoth" (Psalms 4, 6, 54, 67, 76) indicating the stringed instruments of the orchestra, "Nehiloth" (Psalm 5) indicating the wind instruments. The word "Selah" indicated an instrumental interlude. Some of the titles to the psalms indicate the tune to which the psalm was to be sung, and those seem in every case to be familiar folk-songs or tunes, such as "Hind of the Dawn" (Psalm 22), "Destroy Not" (Psalms 57, 58, 88), an old vintage song, "The Silent Dove" (Psalm 56), "Lilies of the Testimony" (Psalms 45, 69, 80).

These psalms are of the most various nature and deal with many themes. The nature psalms (8, 19, 24, 29, 33, 65, 66, 74, 147) are marvellous descriptions of the universe as the handiwork of God. A curious group are the acrostic psalms, of which there are thirteen in the original text but only one is apparent in the English version (Psalm 119). Such a poem marks a very conventional type of literature in which thought is completely subordinate to form. Another group of very great charm and interest is that one called "The Songs of Ascents" (120–134), songs chanted by the pilgrims as they went up to Jerusalem at the great feasts.

The charm and power of this book will always hold sway over human hearts because these songs are the outgrowth of experience. The writers were men who saw life as it was and felt its experiences with intense emotion. Moreover, they faced actual life with all its hardness and yet believed in the ultimate triumph of good, because to them God was a vital and intimate reality. His presence was to be found in all nature, in the life of the nation, and in individual experience. And he is a God who is a shepherd of human souls, one who guides, loves, redeems, and blesses the individual life, as the greatest psalm of all, the 23d, puts into words of immortal beauty. All the

ripened fruit of eight centuries of life under the shadow of God's care and love hangs upon this great tree of the Psalter. No wonder that it is the immortal song-book of the human heart in all the ages.

II. The Book of Job

"Towering up alone, far away above all the poetry of the world," is the judgment of one of the master critics of literature, James Anthony Froude, as he speaks of his evaluation of the Book of Job. "One of the grandest things ever written. One feels as if it were not Hebrew, such a noble universality reigns in it. A noble book, all men's book! There is nothing written of equal literary merit"—such is the comment of Carlyle. And one of our greatest American literary critics, Professor Moulton, says: "If a jury of literary men were impanelled to pass upon the question as to the greatest poem in the world's literature they would, I believe, give their verdict in favor of the Book of Job."

Such words by masters of literary criticism are indicative of the place this book holds in world literature. It is a world-poem, with that universality manifest in its theme, the riddle of existence; in its setting, "the land of Uz," which may be anywhere; in its freedom from particularization or provincialism of reference; in its literary form, which is a blending of story, epic poetry, history, philosophy, and drama.

The author of this great world-poem is anonymous and its date is unknown. The lofty conception of God and the many non-Jewish references would lead us to believe, however, that it was written in the period of the Exile. And some have even felt that the sorrows of the nation may be set forth in the form of the experiences of Job.

The book is plainly a work of the imagination, a masterpiece of creative invention and literary artistry. The setting is the patriarchal age, and the place, the "land

of Uz," which is somewhere in the East. The very vagueness of all this makes a further proof that this is not history but epic. It is generally believed that there was an ancient Semitic story of a man named Job, who was renowned for his piety (Ezek. 14:14, 16, 20), and about whose trial at the hands of God, through suffering, a folk-tale had grown up and been passed on in oral form. This the author of our present book used to furnish a type for his hero and a suggestion for the plot of the drama. He has worked it over into the prose prologue and epilogue, the story-setting for his great poem.

The plot of the drama is very simple and clear. The central figures are Job and his three friends, Elihu, and God. Their cycles of speeches make up the framework of the poem. All this is set into the story in a most skilful way: first the prologue, with its holocaust of disaster leaving Job alone upon the ash-heap to begin his dramatic opening speech of cursing, and then the drama, which closes with his speech of confession, leading to the prose epilogue of restoration and blessing.

But it is a drama without any action, confined to the realm of speech. The only action is within Job in the battle between faith and doubt in his own soul. So Genung not improperly calls it "an epic of the inner life." Job is a kind of spiritual Laocoon, wrestling with the twin serpents of doubt and despair. So the book has power because it is such a vivid picture of real experience rather than, as some have thought it, a book of philosophy. The chief interest of the poem centres in Job himself. He stands as the protagonist of the greatest problem of humanity—suffering. Adversity, bereavement, loss of home, loneliness, disease, scorn of friends—all these are outward. But it is the inward struggle between faith and doubt that rends Job's soul, that makes this a spiritual tragedy. No man who reads the words the author has put in Job's mouth but feels that they must have been born out of the real experience of the author's own life.

The theme of the poem is the world-old problem of human suffering with which the great thinkers of the world have wrestled in vain. The writer of Psalm 37 looked at it and passed it by (Psalm 37:7–9), and the writer of Psalm 73 considers it too painful to think upon (Psalm 73:3–16). It is this theme which is presented to us in this book not as a philosophical problem but in the experiences of Job, a soul facing alone in the dark the mystery of evil. And his cries (Job 3:1–26; 14:1–14; 23:2–9) find their echo in every human heart.

To him in this extremity of despair come the three friends. Their speeches sound the same note and are essentially one. They give voice to the current and conventional theology of their day. This, as expressed in classic form in Psalm 1, is that prosperity is always the lot of the righteous, and adversity the fate of the wicked. Beginning with a general statement of this, to them, basic truth, they are driven by Job's answers to assert its practical conclusion in his case, namely, that his suffering was but the punishment for his sins. This Job indignantly denies because it is at variance with the plain facts of human life (21:7–15, 17–18, 34) and the consciousness of his own integrity. He cannot believe himself to be guilty of sin sufficient to deserve such a punishment, nor will the threats and pleadings of the three friends bring him to feign a spurious penitence which he does not feel. And so with a sublime audacity he challenges God to make known his charges against him (7:11–21; 1:32–10:8). Shocked by such blasphemy, the friends reiterate their pious platitudes until Job turns upon them in anger (12:2–3;13:4–12). Job remains honest with himself and with facts and holds fast to his integrity, refuses to accept a false interpretation of life, and ends his speeches with the great oath of vindication (31:16–40) in which he challenges the proof of his sin.

Thus ends the great debate, Job protesting his innocence, the three friends silenced. And so unsatisfactory was

it that it is held by students of the book that some later author undertook to restate the orthodox theology of the three friends in an altered form, in that suffering is not merely retributive but also disciplinary and curative. It is only a slight advance, however, for the theory still is held that the cause of suffering is sin. These concluding speeches were put in the mouth of a young man, Elihu (chaps. 32–37), who had taken no part in the previous debate.

Then follows the sublimest part of the poem, daring and splendid, a masterpiece of religious genius—the speech of God out of the storm (chaps. 38–44). Nowhere in all the world's literature is there so majestic a picture of the glory of God. In its literary form it is like a succession of thunder-claps. It was the response of divine revelation to the discussion of the drama, that all nature is full of mystery, of fathomless power, and wisdom. And although at first sight this may seem no answer at all, it yields large meanings as we consider its plain implication that if the ordinary ongoings of nature are full of mystery and yet are part of the divine providence, so are the moral mysteries of life a part of that same inscrutable divine providence. And the final need is to trust in God—"believing where we cannot prove."

Job finds peace at last in faith in the infinite power of an omnipotent and an omniscient God (42:1–6).

In all this poem, then, we see that the problem is not solved in the terms of philosophy but of experience. It still remains a problem for human thinkers to break their minds upon. But two positive teachings are found in this poem: first, that one purpose of its writer was to present us, in contradiction to the orthodoxy of his day, with the plain fact that human suffering is not the necessary result of sin but is a part of life which comes to all men irrespective of moral worth or baseness. The second truth is that God has no curse for the honest doubter, and that

honesty of opinion, even if it deny him for a time, is more acceptable to him than slavish subservience that wrests the truth to his glory.

In a scientific age like the present, this book reveals itself to us, as Ruskin well said, with its lesson "of the holy and humbling influence of science on the human heart." For to-day we stand in the presence of a universe of ever-enlarging mysteries. We can only feel that faith in a God who rules in that ever-vaster world is the only sure way out of the mists of doubt in which we live. And as Jastrow well says: "Such faith rises supreme to argument and speculation because it realizes that the highest truth accessible to man is never a solid that can be grasped but an atmosphere to be breathed."

CHAPTER XII

THE SO-CALLED SILENT CENTURIES

The Old Testament closes with the return of Ezra and his fellow exiles to Palestine. The New Testament opens with the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem. Between these events lies a period of 400 years, which the collection of Hebrew sacred literature called our Bible passes over without a word. The setting and scenery of both Testaments are the same; but the political, social, intellectual, and religious environment are totally unlike. Persia was in power in Ezra's day; Rome ruled in Jesus' time. There are in the New Testament Scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees and Herodians, and a Sanhedrim; all unknown in the Old Testament. Hebrew was the spoken language of the Old Testament; Aramaic and Greek are the vernacular of the New. An angelic and demoniac hierarchy, Gabriel, Beelzebub, demon possession, all are found in New Testament times; and the dark shadow of Gehenna or Sheol is seen behind human life in that era—all this utterly unknown to the men of Ezra's day. The returned exiles were rebuilding the Temple in his time; while in Acts and the Epistles we read of synagogues, which again marks a complete change in these four centuries in the idea of worship. So these "silent centuries" ought to be of interest on purely historical grounds, to explain the many new phenomena of New Testament times.

From earliest Christian times to our day the common idea has been that the silence and oblivion of these four centuries were fitting, since the revelation of God ceased with the fifth century B. C., and no divine voice or message was heard in those forgotten years. But our modern study of these times and their literature shows this to be

untrue. There are many noble and beautiful ideas and ideals, events and personages which deserve to rank alongside the more familiar Bible facts and events and men as possessing vast spiritual power.

To the Christian scholar the most vital significance and value of those forgotten centuries consists in the fact that this period, rather than the Old Testament era, was the real preparation for Jesus. Without some understanding of those 400 years, one cannot fully comprehend his New Testament; nor appreciate the real significance of the coming of the Christ.

For while we are all familiar with the oft-repeated statement that Christianity's way was prepared by Greece with her perfect language in which the gospel was preached and the New Testament written; and by Rome with her reign of law and order making the seas safe and the cities peaceful for Paul the Apostle to preach the gospel; and that both Greece and Rome in a deeper sense by their decadent religion and the universal need of a stronger faith had thus made ready a fertile soil for the seeds of Christian truth—yet less familiar and even more important was the preparation in Judaism itself for the coming of Christianity.

So for these reasons it will be well worth while to look carefully at the fascinating and almost unknown story of the life and literature of these "silent centuries."

I. The Life of Judaism and Its Three Centres

When Jerusalem fell in 586 B. C., before the king of Babylon, its fall marked the end of Jewish nationalism. With the exile began that process by which the Jews were scattered among all the nations in what is termed in the New Testament the "Dispersion" (I Peter 1:1). By the time of Christ every great city in the Roman Empire had its large colony of Jews, while the towns, villages, and countrysides numbered them by the thousands. We shall,

however, only consider and deal with the three great centres of the life of Judaism—Babylon, Alexandria, and Jerusalem.

(1) Babylon and the Eastern Dispersion.

The Babylonian Exile had a profound and lasting effect upon Judaism. It eliminated idolatry and led to the growth of pure monotheism, which by the priests was popularized and became the dominant element in Jewish life. The career of the second Babylonian Empire was brief; and its successor, Persia, came into power. Its religion, created by Zoroaster, was the same commingling of Hebrew and ancient Persian ideas that Mohammedanism is of the Hebrew and Moslem conceptions. It was only natural that Persia should have kindly feelings toward Judaism, and under Cyrus the Jews were given permission to return and rebuild their ruined city and Temple. It is with the story of that return that our Old Testament closes. No less natural and even more important was the friendliness of Judaism for Persia. It finds expression in a striking passage in Isaiah (44:28–45:7). And the later Jewish religious ideas, of angelology and demonology, and of the kingdoms of good and evil in strife for mankind, are probably derived from Zoroastrianism.

While a few Jews returned under Ezra and Nehemiah to their native land, by far the largest number remained in the East, living on there for centuries, and multiplying in numbers and power, spreading northward to the Black Sea and the Caspian, southward to the Persian Gulf, and eastward as far as India (where modern evidence of their residence has been found). They literally numbered millions, and of this vast Jewish population in the East the city of Babylon was the cultural and religious centre.

Here in this place they dwelt and increased in power and wealth for centuries. Their wealth, their leisure, and

the literary atmosphere of Babylon made this the centre of Jewish scholarship, even superior to Jerusalem, and here lived and wrought the greatest Jewish scholars. For it was Ezra of Babylon who first restored the law; a second time forgotten, Hillel of Babylon recovered it; a third time fallen into oblivion, Rabbi Chiza (in the second century A. D.), of Babylon, brought it back. Babylon was the home of that deep student of the law called the scribe, and the cradle of that learned teacher of the law called the rabbi. Babylon was the Athens of Judaism, the seat of its culture. And it was in Babylon that there grew up that amplifying of the Mosaic law known as the Mishnah, in which rabbinic ingenuity elaborated the law into a ramification of minute and burdensome regulations of each detail of life, under which the Hebrews in Jesus' day were groaning and which he declared had made the law "of none effect." This traditional law was very much larger in bulk than the whole Pentateuch. To it was later added the Haggada, or the collected theology of the rabbis, a mass of illustration, commentary, discussion, and anecdote, and the two collections together constituted what is known as the Babylonian Talmud. This marked the beginning of that process of externalization and traditionalism which had completely devitalized Jewish religion by Jesus' day.

This vast literary activity (carried on at first in Hebrew and later in the Aramaic or Syrian language) in the theological seminaries of old Babylon gave the Jews of the Eastern Dispersion a very great place of power and authority in Judaism, equal to and sometimes superior to that of the Palestinian Jews. Indeed, the relation between the two was very close, as is indicated by the fact that the hours of the great feasts and fasts of the Jewish calendar celebrated in Jerusalem were telegraphed to Babylon by fire-signals from mountain top to mountain top.

It was in Babylon also that there originated that institution peculiar to later Judaism, the synagogue. Cut off from the Temple services the pious Jews longed for some place of worship, and so the synagogues came into being; and wherever the Jewish people of the Dispersion were found there was to be found the synagogue. Even in Palestine it came to exist alongside the Temple in the outlying towns and villages, and even in Jerusalem.

This first centre of Jewish life in Babylon was marked, then, by the creation of the traditional law and theology, and the dominance of a cultured class of scribes and rabbis who, in their zeal to preserve the laws and traditions of Israel, reduced the Jewish religion to a mass of outward ordinances and forms. These Eastern Jews had their faces turned toward the past, and lived in a world of tradition.

(2) Alexandria and the Western Dispersion.

The Persian rule gave way to the spectacular and speedy conquest of the world by Alexander, which, though it was brief in its political sway, was permanent in its intellectual conquest. All the succeeding centuries Greek culture was paramount and spread over the whole world; and even in Rome's days of glory it was the Greek mind whose brilliance dazzled the eyes of men, and Greek came to be the "lingua Franca" or common medium of expression not only for the world of scholarship but that of commerce and daily life. This conquest of Greece marked a new era for Judaism, for Alexander opened the Greek cities of the world to welcome Jewish colonists, and they were soon filled with millions of Jews—craftsmen, traders, and the like—seeking a livelihood. These Jews formed what is known as the Western Dispersion. Exposed to the subtle and searching influence of Greek culture, these Jews were known as Hellenists, meaning those who had to some extent adopted the manners and language of old Hellas.

Alexandria was the capital of this Jewish world in the West. Founded by Alexander to become the centre of his new kingdom, it was a new city in an old setting, for behind it lay the ancient, mysterious land of Egypt. It was essentially a commercial metropolis, with a population of a million; a brilliant, splendid city, gay, luxurious, cultured; the meeting-place of Europe, Asia, and Africa, the focus of three continents; beautiful with palaces and imposing with libraries and universities. It became, next to Athens, the centre of Greek culture and its schools of philosophy drew students from all over the world. It was in this city that the Jews became vastly wealthy and numbered hundreds of thousands, with many synagogues. They became powerful through their wealth. One Jewish banker, Alexander, loaned King Agrippa money, and managed the affairs of the sister-in-law of the Emperor Tiberius.

It was in Alexandria that Judaism and Hellenism met, and it is here that we see the conflict of the two for supremacy, marked by the gradual victory of Greece. For the atmosphere of Alexandria and Babylon were in absolute contrast. In Babylon the Jew became a traditionalist and worshipper of the past. In Alexandria he could not escape the keen, critical, progressive spirit of Greek thought, nor the all-pervasive influence of Greek ideas. The charm, brilliance, and attractiveness of Greek thought could not be evaded; and the Jew of the West was, in spite of himself, more liberal, broader in outlook than his brother of the East.

This influence of Greece upon Western Judaism is manifest in its adoption of the Greek language, Greek customs, and Greek methods of thought. Had it not been for the counterbalancing influence of the synagogue which kept worship pure; of the study of the law, which held him faithful to Jewish ordinances; and the sentimental influence of Jerusalem over Jewish imagination

as the rallying-point of his faith, the Western Jew would have been completely Hellenized.

An attempt was made, by those who saw the values of the Greek thought and the need to hold the values of their own religious culture, to harmonize the Greek and Jewish thought, and this effort centred in Alexandria.

The first step in this direction was the translation of the Scriptures into Greek. The need of this was keenly felt in Alexandria, where the Hebrew manuscripts were not only almost priceless in cost but utterly unintelligible, since Hebrew was known only to the very small learned class. The people needed and wanted a Bible of their own, and the result was the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, made under the patronage of Ptolemy Philadelphus (230 B. C.), which was called the "Septuagint" or "Seventy," as it was traditionally believed to have been translated by a group of seventy scholars. Its cheapness and usefulness made it at once immensely popular. It became at once the people's Bible to the whole mass of the Jews of the Western world, and continued to be the Bible of Judaism down to Christ's day. It is interesting to find the New Testament writers using it constantly as a source of their quotations.

The next step was the creation of a philosophical literature, partly intended to be an apologetic or defense of Jewish thought and customs, partly an attempt to show that the best philosophy of Greece, notably Stoicism and Platonism, was in accord with the best of the Old Testament teaching. In such a book as the "Wisdom of Solomon," "wisdom" has become an abstract term identical with the Platonic ideas. Such philosophical works paved the way for a reconciliation of Greek and Jewish religious thought.

The third step was taken by Philo of Alexandria, a contemporary of Jesus. He was a Jew of noble birth and fine mind and personality. In himself he united Greek

learning and Jewish culture, and became immensely popular as a teacher of philosophy in Alexandria, students flocking to him from all over the world. He attempted to fuse into one the Greek idea of the Logos with the later Jewish idea of Wisdom. In order to do this he introduced the allegorical method of interpretation, which was adopted by later Judaism and Christianity. He adopted from Greek philosophy the idea that God was the absolute, the unconditioned, the unknowable Being; and that matter was essentially evil, so God could not come into contact directly with the universe. So He gave forth certain emanations, secondary causes or demigods, climaxing in the Logos or Word, in which He came into final contact with matter and man. And since in man matter and spirit are united, Philo held that salvation can come only by the conquest of the physical through ascetic discipline and meditation.

From Alexandria this philosophy spread over all the world, profoundly affecting in particular the people of Asia Minor, where the early Christian teachers like Paul and John found it filling the air like a fine mist, and Paul wrote Colossians, and John the introduction to the fourth Gospel to combat it. Later, in the form of Gnosticism, in the second and third Christian centuries, it almost overthrew the orthodox faith of the churches.

It is obvious, then, that Western Judaism was unconsciously preparing the way for Christianity (1) by its spread of the Scriptures, (2) by its creation of openness of mind, (3) by its attempt to link the Old Testament religion with Greek current thought, a task completed by Christianity.

(3) Jerusalem and the Judaism of Palestine.

After the return, under Ezra and Nehemiah, of some 50,000 Jews into Palestine, the Jewish people continued to occupy their ancestral land under the successive conquerors who laid their hands on Palestine. For the Per-

sian was followed by the Greek sovereignty, and the Palestinian Jews came under the Macedonian yoke. During this period two classes of religious leaders came to be dominant in Palestine—the priest and the scribe. When Alexander died, after a tangled century of plots and wars, the contest for world-supremacy narrowed itself to two houses, the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucidæ of Syria. For one hundred years Palestine was the battle-ground of both.

Under the rule of the Ptolemies (who were at first victorious) the power and sway of Alexandria was great and many Jews were Hellenized. The first ruling class of the Jews, the priests, was of two orders, the higher being the hereditary priesthood, called Sadducees; the lower order, not born to the office, retaining the name of priests. The two together were the dominating group in Jerusalem, the government being in their hands. These Sadducees leaned strongly toward Hellenism. They coupled this, strangely enough, with an extravagant reverence for the letter of the Law, and so rejected immortality, as it was not taught therein.

But some of the Jews remained true to the traditions of the past, and their loyalty to Jehovah and hatred of foreign customs led them to call themselves the "Chasidim" or "pious"—the Puritans of old Israel. Failing to find support in the priestly party, they fell back on the second group, the scribes, and, as they became more extreme in their doctrines, withdrew from all contact with the established church to form the "Perushim" or "Separatists"—the Pharisees of later history whose name in the New Testament is always linked with the scribes. This group was intensely and narrowly nationalistic as well as dogmatic and traditionalistic. It hated and fought Hellenism.

Then came the events that brought into opposition and cleavage these two sects. Syria succeeded Egypt as a

world-power and laid hands on Palestine with a new ruthlessness and an evident determination to Hellenize Judaism in Palestine by force. This was undertaken by Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria in 168 B. C.

He began by sending his general, Apollonius, to Jerusalem to stamp out Judaism. Strangely enough, the Sadducean party openly conspired with Antiochus to do away with the old traditions. Then Antiochus prohibited Jewish rites of worship on pain of death, and robbing the Temple of its sacred treasures, he turned it into a temple of Olympian Zeus. As a climax of insult and sacrilege, he had swine slaughtered on the altar and thus profaned the sanctuary. It is this which is referred to in the Book of Daniel (which was written as a prediction of his overthrow in cryptic form to encourage the despairing Jews) as the "abomination of desolation" (Daniel 12: 11). The horror and despair of the hour are also reflected in the Maccabean Psalms—74, 79, and 83. Fearful persecutions followed, in which, among others, one old scribe bore unutterable torment and died a martyr to his faith. Then the persecution spread to the countryside. It reached the little village of Modein, where a Greek altar was set up in the dooryard of the priest Mattathias. He was ordered to sacrifice on it with heathen rites. He refused and struck down and killed an apostate Jew who started to sacrifice upon it. Then he and his five stalwart sons fled to the mountains.

With this begins the era of the Maccabees; for to them in their mountain retreat many Jews rallied to their cause, and the Pharisees in Jerusalem were heartened to take Mattathias's side. At his death his son Judas, the Leonidas of Judaism, took up the work of liberating Israel. He was a man of noble character, and a military genius who deserves to rank high among the world's generals. In a pitched battle, against overwhelming odds of six to one, he defeated the Syrian army. By victory

after victory he won independence for his people. His nickname, Maccabeus (or "hammer"), was given to his family, and after his death his brothers ruled over the Jewish nation in its century of independence (143–63 B. C.). During this period Palestine was divided into the three familiar divisions of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. It was the time also in which the rival religious sects —Pharisees and Sadducees—became rival political parties.

There was also formed in this Maccabean era, out of these two parties, the governing body of the Jews known as the Sanhedrim, the name and the form of the organization being taken from Greek municipal government. It was a time of ferment and chaos, of conflicting ideas in church and state, and of declining religion. The fortunes of the Maccabees finally reached their lowest ebb when Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, two rival princes, fought for the rule, and then in 63 B. C. Rome entered the scene, and Pompey conquered Jerusalem. It was in protest against these conditions in the closing days of the Maccabean era that there arose a third party or sect called the Essenes. They were the monks of old Israel, living in caves of the desert singly or in communities. They largely centred about the Dead Sea and were mystic and ascetic in belief and practice. Some think that John the Baptist was an Essene.

All this history is narrated in large part in I and II Maccabees, which, for no valid reason, was omitted from our Bible. These two books form a bridge between the Old and New Testaments.

II. The Literature of the Silent Centuries

These centuries were prolific in the production of literature and much of it was of no mean order of worth and dignity. It may be gathered up for our convenience into two main groups—the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

(1) The Old Testament Apocrypha.

The word originally meant secret or esoteric, and was applied to works that were only to be understood by the initiated or the wise. It later came to be used in a derogatory sense by the Christian writers, as works that were false, spurious, or heretical. Various views have been held by the church regarding these books. The Catholic Church recognizes them as canonical; but early in the nineteeth century, not by the vote of any church council but by the English Bible Society's decision, the Apocrypha were omitted, and in all succeeding editions since 1827 are no longer printed in the Protestant English Bible.

The books of the Apocrypha may be classified as follows:

(*a*) Historical—	I Maccabees (in Greek).
	II Maccabees (in Greek).
	I Ezra (in Aramaic).
	Baruch (in Hebrew).
(*b*) Poetical—	Song of Three Children (Hebrew).
	Prayer of Manasses (Hebrew).
(*c*) Fiction—	Tobit (Aramaic).
	Appendix to Esther (Greek).
	Judith (Hebrew).
	Story of Susanna (Hebrew).
	Bel and the Dragon (Hebrew).
(*d*) Philosophy—	Ecclesiasticus (Hebrew).
	Wisdom of Solomon (Greek).
(*e*) Apocalyptic—	II Ezra (Greek).

Most of these books were written between 200 B. C. and the time of Christ. One type of literature deserving special mention is the apocalyptic. The word means "an unveiling" or "revelation," but the books so denominated are all curiously veiled and cryptic, requiring a knowl-

edge of their symbolic cipher to decode them. They differ widely in every way from prophecy, of which they are the outgrowth. Their purpose was to encourage and inspire the Jews during these dark days of their history with a series of pictures of the divine power as supernaturally revealed in the past, set forth by the writer in symbols or visions, and to predict deliverance from their present oppressors. This prediction of divine intervention against their present oppressors had to be put in veiled or cryptic form, or otherwise the books could never have been circulated. Apocalypses were immensely popular and dozens of them were written which were not included in our Old Testament Apocrypha. These "silent centuries" then become vocal as these oppressed Jews pour out their faith in the coming of deliverance to their people. Two great ideas were burned into the Hebrew mind by these apocalypses: (1) The idea of the Messiah and his coming Kingdom, which was destined to be fulfilled in Christ, and (2) the idea of a blessed future life, which was practically unknown to the Old Testament, being only mentioned in two Psalms, the Book of Job, and Isaiah, but in these apocalypses coming into full flower.

(2) Pseudepigrapha.

These were the natural outgrowth of the crystallization of the Law and its fixity by Ezra as the final revelation of God. This made any prophecy after Ezra's time which bore the name of its contemporary author impossible to be accepted as of divine origin. So the later religious teachers wrote their prophecies or apocalypses under the names of earlier Jewish leaders and authors in order to give them weight or authority as of God. So there grew up a large body of pseudonymous writing, or books written in another's name, which is called Pseudepigrapha and which was written, like the Apocrypha, in the centuries just preceding the Christian era. In this use of the names

of earlier leaders of the past there was no thought of deception, but the purpose was, as indicated, to give sanction to their teachings. These books in the probable order of production may be listed as follows:

(*a*) Ethiopic Book of Enoch.
(*b*) Testament of Twelve Patriarchs.
(*c*) Assumption of Moses.
(*d*) Book of Noah.
(*e*) Psalms of Solomon.
(*f*) Book of Jubilees.
(*g*) Sibylline Oracles.
(*h*) Ascension of Isaiah.
(*i*) Slavonic Book of Enoch.

CHAPTER XIII

THE BACKGROUND OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

As we enter now the New Testament it is obvious that, as in the case of the Old Testament, there lies behind its words a background of real life and thought out of which it came into being. The events narrated therein are part of the history of the era, and the teachings set forth in its pages are colored by the environment of thought and life of the time. So to understand at all fully our New Testament we must needs study the era in which it came into being.

The topography of the New Testament may form a convenient means of division of such a study, for we may say in general that the background of the Gospels is that of Palestine, while the background of most of Acts and all the Epistles is that of the Mediterranean world.

I. The Background of the Gospels

(1) Political Conditions in Palestine in Jesus' Day.

The two decades that followed the Roman conquest of Palestine (60–40 B. C.) were marked by the rise of Antipater of Idumea (the district south of Judea), who took advantage of the decline of the Maccabean rulers to push his own interests in Palestine, and so assisted the Romans in their campaign of conquest, that, as a reward for his services, he was made Procurator of Judea; while his older son, Phasael, was made governor of Jerusalem, and his younger son, Herod, governor of Galilee. On Antipater's death in 44 B. C. Herod and Phasael were renamed as civil rulers of Judea. During the Parthian invasion of Palestine in 40 B. C. Phasael was killed, and Herod fled for his life. After many adventures he reached

Rome, where, through skilful intrigue, he was invested by Antony and Octavius with the title of "King of the Jews." But he had yet to conquer his kingdom. Two years of active campaigning seated him on the throne in 37 B. C. His later career is one of intrigue, treachery, and assassination, every step marked with blood. He caused the murder of his wife and sons, who were the victims of intrigue. He surrounded himself with spies and foreign mercenaries. His suspicion and fear are reflected in the story of the birth of the Christ, whom he feared as an aspirant to the throne. And the slaughter of the Bethlehem innocents which followed was so trifling among his bloody deeds as to have been unrecorded by Jewish historians. Cruel, tyrannical, he yet ruled with a magnificence and splendor that entitled him to the name of Herod the Great. He was undisputed master of Palestine until his death in 4 B. C. (This, incidentally, is the date which caused modern scholars to set back the birth of Jesus to this or the preceding year, this anomalous condition being caused by the faulty Julian calendar.)

This Herod was a great builder, and the result was to give to Palestine in his day a magnificence it never at any other time possessed. He rebuilt old Samaria, renaming it Sebaste (the Greek word for Augustus) in honor of the ruling Cæsar, and erected therein a huge Roman temple, a large theatre, and a palace. On the seacoast he built a splendid city and an artificial harbor, calling it Cæsarea. Many naturally strategic points were surmounted with impregnable fortresses, like Machærus in Perea, Herodium and Masada in Judea.

Most magnificent and important of all was his work in Jerusalem. He could truly say (as Augustus said of Rome) that he "found it a city of brick and left it a city of marble." One set of buildings was his beautiful palace enclosed by three flanking towers named in honor of his family, which occupied the eminence known as the

Upper City, connected by a great Roman bridge across the Tyropœon Valley with the Temple area. The Lower City on the slopes to the north, which was the business quarter, was by him transformed into a great complex of splendid arcades and bazaars. The Temple area was overlooked by the Castle (or Tower) of Antonia, where was quartered a garrison of Roman soldiery. Crowning the city as its chief glory, and named as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, was the splendid Temple, begun by Herod in 20 B. C. and only completed in 65 A. D. Thus by this magnificent gift did Herod seek to placate the restless Jews. And all over Palestine to-day are evidences of the great architectural works, the aqueducts and the like, that made his reign outwardly splendid.

Upon his death Judea was left by him to his son Archelaus. He early showed himself so tyrannical and tactless that he was under suspicion of the Roman Emperor Augustus, and was given rule only over Judea, Samaria, and Idumea. His violent reign of ten years was finally ended ignominiously when a deputation of Jews went to Rome in protest, and he was banished in 6 A. D. Then Judea became an imperial province under direct control of the emperor and was ruled by procurators of his appointment. These had supreme authority in important matters, but the ordinary civil laws were in charge of Jewish courts, at the head of which stood the Sanhedrim. These procurators of Judea were in turn Gratus (15–26 A. D.), who appointed Annas and Caiaphas as high priests, and Pontius Pilate (26–36 A. D.), who had his permanent residence at the garrison town of Cæsarea, only coming to Jerusalem with his soldiers during the Passover to keep order because of the dangers of rebellion at such seasons. It was thus that he happened to be in Jerusalem at Jesus' death.

To his other son, Philip, Herod the Great left the territory east and north of the Lake of Galilee, the present

PALESTINE
IN THE
Time of Jesus
(4 B.C.–30 A.D.)
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40
Main Roads
34° 30′
35°
35° 30′
36°
Berytus
PHOENICIA
ITUREA
ABILENE
Damascus
Sidon
Zarephath
Sarepta
R. Leontes
PANIAS
Paneas
Caesarea Philippi
TRACHONITIS
ULATHA
Tyre
Ladder of Tyrus
GREAT SEA
Gischala
Seleucia
Ptolemais
Ramah
Chorazin
Bethsaida Julias
Jotapata
Cana
Sepphoris
Magdala
Capernaum
Sea of Galilee
Tiberias
HATANEA
Gerasa
Gamala
Hippos
Ashtaroth
GAULANITIS
Kanata
Tarichea
Nazareth
Mt. Tabor
Iturea
Yarmuk
Abila
Gadara
Edrei
Dora
Mt. Carmel
Megiddo
Nain
Jezreel
Dium
Caesarea
En-gannim
Ginea
Scythopolis
DECAPOLIS
Pella
SAMARIA
Samaria
Mt. Ebal
Shechem
Sychar
Jacob's Well
Mt. Gerizim
Archelais
Apollonia
Antipatris
Ragaba
Gerasa
Amathus
Plain of Sharon
Ephraim
Korea
Alexandrium
R. Jabbok
Joppa
Mt. Sartaba
Phasaelis
Arimathea
Thamna
Gophna
Modein
Ephraim
Philadelphia
Lydda
Jamnia
Bethel
W. Nimrin
Beth Nimra
JUDEA
Ekron
Emmaus
Jericho
Livias
Julias
Heshbon
Ashdod
Azotus
Jerusalem
Bethany
Bethlehem
Ashkelon
Herodium
Callirrhoe
Anthedon
Agrippeum
Eleutheropolis
Bethzur
Gaza
Hebron
Machaerus
Dibon
R. Arnon
IDUMEA
Masada
Raphia
Beersheba
Malatha
SALT SEA
ARABIA
Proconsulate of Pontius Pilate.
Tetrarchy of Herod Antipas.
Tetrarchy of Philip.
Under Province of Syria.
Free Cities (directly under Rome)
C.L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.
34° 30′ Longitude 35° East 35° 30′ from 36° Greenwich

land of the Druses, lying between the Jordan and Damascus. He was a good ruler, ruling for thirty-seven years, and developed as fully as he could the barren territory over which he ruled. The old town of Panias at the source of the Jordan he rebuilt and called it Cæsarea Philippi. He also transformed Bethsaida from a fishing village to a city, naming it Julias in honor of the emperor's daughter.

The third son, Herod Antipas, was given rule over Galilee and Perea. Galilee was a rich and fertile territory and over it Antipas ruled for forty-seven years. He was cunning and crafty, a lover of intrigue, and Jesus rightly calls him "that fox." It was he who beheaded John the Baptist, and he was the Herod of the Gospels. Under his reign the Lake of Galilee became a favorite resort of the Roman nobility, who built their marble villas on its slopes. On its western side Herod Antipas built Tiberias, named in honor of the emperor, the one city that has survived to the present day. He also developed the fishing business of the lake, whose dried salted fish were shipped all over the world, and Capernaum as customs port and fishing centre became a thriving city. Here Jesus had the headquarters of his ministry, and here he called its customs collector, Matthew, to be a disciple.

This divided rule in Palestine illuminates vividly one scene in Jesus' life—his trial. Brought first before the Sanhedrim for trial, their accusation of blasphemy carried with it no power to enforce the death penalty they desired, so they led him to the civil governor—who alone had power of capital punishment—with the accusation of treason, which carried with it the doom of the cross. Then Pilate, desiring to escape responsibility, finding Jesus was from Galilee, sent him to Herod Antipas (Luke 23: 9), who promptly sent him back. Then Pilate sought to free Jesus but was afraid, because he feared that the Jewish leaders, already restive, might accuse him to

Cæsar, as they had done with Archelaus. So he ordered him crucified.

Besides these three provinces, there was also east of the Jordan an independent confederacy made up of ten Greek cities, and so called the Decapolis. Here, as the modern ruins clearly indicate, were once fine, flourishing centres of Greek civilization with the characteristic market-place, temples, and amphitheatres of all Greek cities. Being just across the Jordan Valley, they exerted a powerful influence upon the life and thought of Galilee and Judea.

(2) The Two Worlds in Palestine.

It is thus obvious that Palestine in Jesus' day was made up of many races and was a mingling of conflicting currents of life and thought, of which two are in clear evidence: the forces of heathenism and Judaism.

The heathen influences came in part through the presence in the country of the Romans, as soldiers and rulers, bringing into its life their peculiar beliefs and ideas. The strategic importance of Palestine, then as now recognized, made Rome hold rule there with an iron hand. They also came through those Jews who had been touched by foreign ideas and thought, notably the rulers, with whom, as in all nations, Rome had entered into an alliance. For Rome remained mistress of her conquered territories by such commercial and political alliance with the rulers of these territories rather than by military power alone, which would have required vast standing armies everywhere. So her garrisons in Palestine were but a show of power. Her real strength lay in the fact that with the priests and the wealthy Sadducees she had entered into an agreement. In return for the prompt payment of taxes (farmed out by these Jewish rulers to "publicani" or tax-gatherers for collection), Rome offered peace and stability of government under her delegated civil rulers, backed, in case of civil war, by her legions. It was a clever

and successful plan, as Rome's long rule shows. She did not attempt to interfere with religion or industry or the main currents of social life. But since the emperor laid heavy taxes on this Jewish province as everywhere, and since the publicans made them vastly heavier by their grafting and extortionate methods of collection, anger against Rome was on the increase in Palestine. For many reasons Rome, although a fairly just ruler, was hated by the Jews as no other power that had ever held them in thraldom. Rebellions were always springing up under leaders who were canonized as national heroes. The people were in a ferment. The Pharisees and Scribes, intense nationalists, were always fanning the embers of popular discontent. A new group, the "Zealots," were pledged to perpetual hate of Rome. One of these, Simon the Zealot, strangely enough, became a disciple of Jesus. The more rebellious the people grew the more intense became the desire for a deliverer. The old Messianic prophecies became the hope of the Jews and they passionately prayed for an immediate political deliverer to break the power of Rome. All this is the vivid background of Jesus' life, and explains the eager enthusiasm that welcomed him when they believed him to be this political emancipator, and their defection when he refused the crown.

So, against the inroads of a corruption of patriotism fostered by Sadducee, priest, and Herodian, and the penetration of the heathen world that swarmed in Palestine, fought the Scribes and Pharisees, eager champions of the old Judaism and of a flaming and intense nationalism. It was in such cross-currents of thought and life that Jesus lived and taught.

(3) The Political Significance of Jesus.

It is worth while at this point to note the political significance of Jesus. There is no doubt that had Jesus so desired he might well have become a world figure in a political way, and have shaken the Roman power to its foun-

dations, even perhaps to its overthrow. For Judaism in Palestine was a powder-mine needing but a spark to ignite it. Judaism outside of Palestine had an amazing solidarity and unity and only waited the word from Jerusalem to join in rebellion. The Jews were one-tenth of the population of the Roman Empire and possessed of vast wealth and power. Rome was already weakened by her own increasing corruption and the lessening grip of her colonial government upon conquered peoples. She especially feared an uprising in the Orient. By his miracles and his strong personality Jesus for a time won the masses to himself. Had he been willing to modify his gospel and join hands with the ruling classes, history might have been entirely changed.

(4) The Social Appeal of Jesus.

The ruthlessness of Roman rule, made more grievous by the pressure of the graft and greed of Jewish leaders, made the lot of artisan and peasant bitterly hard in Palestine in Jesus' day. To the people he seemed for a time, with his messages and ideas, a possible social deliverer and a champion of the poor. To the ruling aristocracy of priests and Sadducees, Jesus—as a common artisan, the friend and successor of John the Baptist with his radical social gospel, preaching about the kingdom of the common man, gathering about him peasants and poor folk—seemed to them a menace to vested interests, and this feeling reached a climax in the cleansing of the temple. Henceforth they were his sworn enemies.

(5) The Religious Significance of Jesus.

Religion had become in his day mere ceremonialism, an infinite multitude of detailed regulations created by the rabbinical law and imposed upon the people vigorously by Scribe and Pharisee. The common people were afraid of these their religious leaders (see John 9), and by them the simple words of Jesus with their comfort and hope were eagerly heard and welcomed. But to the Pharisaic mind

they were utter blasphemy, and they finally joined their rivals, the Sadducean group, in bringing about Jesus' death.

(6) The Apostolic Age in Palestine.

After the death of Jesus we find that Herod Agrippa, the grandson of Herod the Great, rose to power, and after the accession of Caligula (40 A. D.) became ruler of all Palestine. He was outwardly a scrupulous Jew, and to please the Jews persecuted the early church (Acts 12). After his death the country was ruled again by procurators. Felix (52–60 A. D.) was a cruel and lustful freedman whose tyranny and cruelty were so great that he was finally recalled by Nero, and Festus was appointed in his stead. It was during these two governorships that Paul was in prison in Cæsarea (Acts 23–26). Meanwhile (50 A. D.) Agrippa II became nominal ruler of Palestine (Acts 26). The long series of injustices and tyrannies of these Roman rulers led to a great rebellion in 66 A. D., which was firmly put down by Rome, and finally ended in the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A. D. This event marked the end of any relation of the early church to Judaism. Henceforth it was universal.

(7) The Mental and Religious Outlook.

The condition of the masses in Palestine at this time was not only a virtual economic and social slavery but also one of ignorance and illiteracy. While the synagogue schools gave instruction in the Old Testament Scripture, the knowledge was largely by rote, and the interpretation was the exclusive possession of the scribes and rabbis, who were venerated and feared as the Brahmins are in India to-day. The traditional and ceremonial and speculative elements of religion were so exalted as to lose all its practical values, so Jesus' words of condemnation were just. Superstition was rife everywhere. There was a general belief in demons and demoniac possession to which all

misfortunes and diseases were attributed. Magic was very generally practised, and books of magic were popular. There had, however, come into being in the period before Christ, as the Talmud reveals, a general belief in the resurrection and the future life, which is revealed clearly in our New Testament on many occasions. But while, as Martha shows (John 11:24), this belief was of some comfort, it had been shorn of much of its value by the absurd speculations of the rabbis which had become dogmas, such, for example, as the idea that a small bone in the spine was indestructible and from this a new body should be created. (From this belief this bone is still called in anatomy the "os sacrum.")

All in all the intellectual and religious outlook of the average man in Jesus' day was empty of real beauty or meaning, and so into this vacuum his words came to bring a new comfort and peace to human hearts.

II. The Background of the Epistles

The Epistles and the later literature of the New Testament were written in the larger horizon of the Mediterranean world. This world included the lands that border the Great Sea and over which Rome was ruling at that day.

(1) The Pax Romana.

With its genius for government Rome brought all these lands into a compact and remarkable unification which made the Mediterranean world a unit. The great city of Rome, adorned with glorious architecture by its great emperors, was the centre from which radiated government, culture, and law. These were in this first Christian century:

Augustus (30 B. C.–14 A. D.).
Tiberius (14–37 A. D.).
Caligula (37–41 A. D.).

Claudius (41–54 A. D.).
Nero (54–68 A. D.).
Vespasian and Domitian (69–96 A. D.).

Of this great political organism the heart was the emperor, who was deified and worshipped; the skeleton was the fortresses linked by the famous Roman roads; the body, the army of legionaries, numbering about 250,000 men; the arms, the Roman law, embodying Rome's practical genius; the hands, the provincial governors, an experienced and efficient group of administrators. Thus for all this century the world was under the "Pax Romana" or "Roman peace"; the most unified, efficient, and peaceful era of ancient history. It was surely no accident that Christianity was born and propagated in this era of peace, and that over the Roman roads, or on the great sea where Rome kept the peace, the messengers of the gospel carried the story of Christ.

(2) The Mind of the Mediterranean World.

But the brain of this great social and political organism was not Roman but Greek. Greek models controlled not only Roman architecture but Roman thought. Cicero fused in the Augustan age the Roman and Greek civilization in his culture. And in later times even the emperors prided themselves on their knowledge of Greek literature. Art and science were likewise borrowed from the Greeks.

It was into this Hellenistic intellectual atmosphere that Christianity came into being, and the task which Paul began and the later Christian thinkers completed was to interpret Christianity to that thought-world. There is clear evidence that Paul saw and understood the need of the creation of Christian philosophy and theology, and sought in such epistles as Ephesians to restate Christianity in the light of current philosophic ideas.

(3) The Social and Moral Conditions.

The Roman Empire even in these days of its glory was already revealing the beginnings of its decay. There was

a sharp contrast between the luxury and profligacy of the nobility and the abject misery of the masses. Vast numbers of the population were slaves, who did all the menial work of the empire and were treated with terrible cruelty. The poor were utterly neglected and forgotten. The public amusements of the time were the cruel and bestial games of the arena. Home life was at a low ebb, and marriage had almost ceased because of the reign of lust. Infanticide was common, and unnatural vices flourished. Such conditions are mirrored in Paul's Epistles (Romans 1). Even the great Roman thinkers like Seneca, Cicero, and Tacitus were under the burden of a hopeless despair.

It was not strange that Christianity, which brought together slave and freeman in one common brotherhood (Epistle to Philemon), which taught its members to share each other's practical support, which cared for the poor and the orphans, and which taught love instead of hate, should have seemed to that hard, bitter, despairing world a refuge and a beacon of hope.

(4) The Religion of the Roman Empire.

The only religion that Rome had of her own at that time was the worship of the Emperor. The old gods of the ancient Roman pantheon had ceased to have any popular appeal. Instead, Rome was inundated by a flood of foreign religions, especially from the East, most of which were debasing and full of lust, the most popular being the worship of the Mother Goddess of Asia and the Egyptian Isis. The Roman army in particular had as its favorite god the Persian Mithras, whose worship was carried on in underground chapels by the legions. Superstition, magic, and astrology flourished everywhere.

There grew up out of these faiths, however, those more spiritual cults known as "Mysteries," a sort of lodge or brotherhood for mystic worship, whose candidates underwent initiation with dramatic rites into the mystic knowledge of the divine. There are many traces in Paul's

epistles of the influence of these mysteries upon his theology.

However, in general, religion in the Roman Empire in the first century had ceased to have any real meaning and it was the opportunity of Christianity. The sublime teachings and sublimer life of the Christ came to this weary and needy world with irresistible power.

CHAPTER XIV

THE APOSTLE PAUL

Of all the characters of human history one of the greatest is the Apostle Paul. In him was united such a marvellous combination of qualities as is rarely found in history. "A heart of fire, the glow of passion and imagination which fused his mystical intuitions and logical apprehensions in one, his fine sensibility, his resolute will, his manly severity and courage, his womanlike tenderness, his vivacity and alertness, his rich humanity, his adroitness and ready tact, his genius for organization and inborn power of command, and his vigorous and creative power of expression with which his original and compelling thought clothed itself—all these qualities went to the making of Paul of Tarsus."

And his life achievement was amazing. Single-handed and alone he planted a score of churches in the strategic centres of the Mediterranean world—in spite of the intensity of race prejudice against a Jew and a Jewish religion; battling against financial interests, as at Ephesus, against unspeakable immoralities as at Corinth; and ever meeting the subtle, insidious attacks of false philosophies and debased religions. The discordant and warring elements of Jew and Gentile in the early church were by his tact, his eloquence, and courage finally fused into a unity. The narrow concepts with which Christianity began were by him enlarged until its horizon was world-wide and universal. He so presented the Christian religion by the greatness of his intellectual genius to the world of thought that it became acceptable to its keenest and best minds. By his love and lavish self-giving he kept alive the struggling little churches amid the heathen

darkness that environed them, so that they became the light of the world. Well did Chrysostom say of him long ago: "Three cubits in stature, he touched the sky." His life and letters mark the beginnings of our New Testament.

I. The Life of Paul

(1) Saul of Tarsus.

On the seacoast of Asia Minor once stood Tarsus, a great city of a half-million population, the commercial centre and intellectual focus of that part of the land; possessing vast wharves, great market-places, and a famous university. To this city many Jews had come, and of a well-to-do and influential Jewish family, who were able thereby to achieve Roman citizenship (Acts 22:25, 28), there was born in A. D. 1 a son called Saul, named after the first king of Israel, to whom, as was customary, was given also a Latin name, Paul ("little"), by which he is best known in history.

While he was educated in the strictest Jewish manner, studying in the synagogue school from his sixth to thirteenth year, his keen and impressionable nature could not fail to feel the influence of the all-pervasive Greek culture about him, as his later life reveals. For two years, like all Jewish boys, he was taught a trade, and learned to make tents of the goat-hair cloth (Acts 18:3) which was one of the principal products of the country, so was called "cilicium."

Then at fifteen he was sent by his parents to Jerusalem to become a rabbi (Acts 26:4; 22:3)—teacher, lawyer, and minister in one. Here he entered the famous theological seminary in the Temple, presided over at that time by Gamaliel, one of the most saintly and liberal of the Jewish teachers. As such men taught sitting on a raised dais, Paul "sat at the feet" of Gamaliel. Here he spent some eight years. The curriculum consisted of three

main subjects: the Hebrew Scriptures; the exegesis or explanation of difficult passages of Scripture; the doctrines of the rabbis. The work of the school was partly memorization of Scriptural and rabbinical teachings, partly spirited discussions between teachers and scholars of disputed points of interpretation and theology. This rabbinical training and mode of thought Paul never entirely outgrew and we find it often in his epistles (Gal. 4). Intense in nature, he became an ardent zealot for Judaism, a "Pharisee of the Pharisees," a scrupulous observer of all the laws and ceremonies of Judaism.

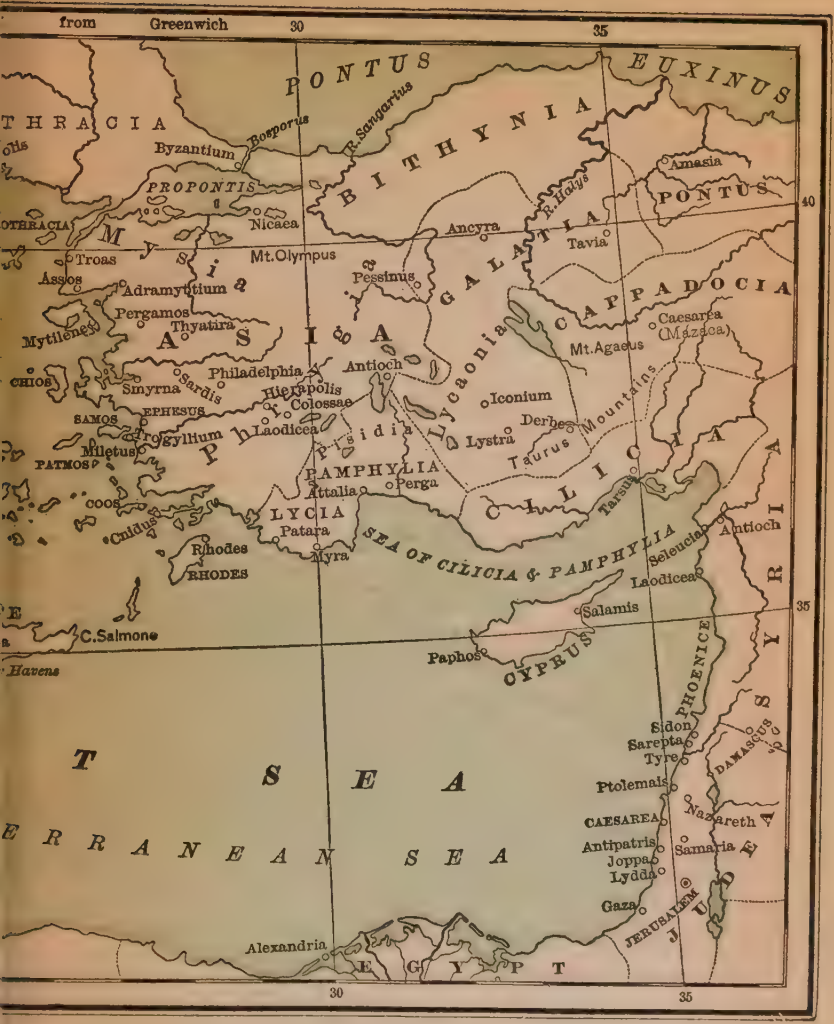
Having completed his education, it is likely that he married (as such marriage was almost necessary in his position through Jewish custom) and was later widowed; and that, as was usual upon graduation (A. D. 23), he departed from Jerusalem to undertake practical work as a rabbi, and probably went to Tarsus. Here he was at work for the next nine years; for it is certain he was not in Jerusalem during the ministry and death of Jesus (26–30 A. D.). His letters hint that this period was to him a time of inward unrest and increasing dissatisfaction with the formal religion of Judaism.

Shortly after Jesus' death he returned to Jerusalem (A. D. 32) and became a member of the Sanhedrim. He was so angry at the new sect called Christians that he took part in the stoning of Stephen, and then, because of his fanatical zeal, was by the Sanhedrim intrusted with the task of uprooting Christianity. So he became its arch-persecutor, and, having gone his fierce way through Jerusalem and the other towns of Palestine, he finally set out to pursue the fleeing Christians as far as Damascus, where authority was given him by the high priest to stamp out Christianity in that city.

(2) Paul the Christian.

It was on that now famous journey to Damascus that Paul was suddenly converted to Christianity (Acts 9).

15
20
Longitude East
ROME
Three Taverns
Appii Forum
Tiber
ITALIA
Puteoli
(Brindisium)
MACEDONIA
Philipp
Amphipolis
40
TYRRHENEAN SEA
Berea
Thessalonica
Apollo
EPIRUS
Corcyra (Corfu)
Nicopolis
ACHAIA
Athens
CORINTH
Cenchreæ
Rhegium
SICILIA
Syracuse
ADRIA
MELITA (Malta)
35
THE
Phoenice
Claudo
GRE
OR
MEDI
Cyrene
LIBYA
JOURNEYS OF PAUL
AND THE PLACES MENTIONED IN THE ACTS AND THE EPISTLES
1st. Journey
2nd. " "
3rd. Journey
Voyage to Rome
Scales
Roman 100 50 0 100 Miles
English 100 50 0 100 Miles
15
20


from Greenwich
30
35
PONTUS EUXINUS
THRACIA
Byzantium
Bosporus
R. Sangarius
BITHYNIA
Amasia
PONTUS
PROPONTIS
Nicaea
Ancyra
R. Halys
Tavia
40
OTHRACIA
MYSIA
Troas
Mt. Olympus
Assos
Adramyttium
Pessinus
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
Pergamos
Thyatira
Caesarea (Mazaca)
Mytilene
ASIA
Mt. Agaeus
Lycaonia
Antioch
Philadelphia
Iconium
CHIOS
Smyrna
Sardis
Hierapolis
Colossae
Mountains
SAMOS
EPHESUS
Laodicea
Derbe
Lystra
Taurus
Pisidia
Phrygia
Miletus
PATMOS
PAMPHYLIA
Perga
CILICIA
Tarsus
coos
Attalia
LYCIA
Patara
Cnidus
Rhodes
Myra
SEA OF CILICIA & PAMPHYLIA
Seleucia
Antioch
SYRIA
RHODES
Laodicea
Salamis
35
C. Salmone
Paphos
CYPRUS
PHOENICE
Sidon
Sarepta
Tyre
DAMASCUS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Ptolemais
Nazareth
CAESAREA
Samaria
Antipatris
Joppa
Lydda
Gaza
JERUSALEM
JUDEA
Alexandria
EGYPT
30
35

After a short sojourn in Damascus he retired into obscurity in Arabia, where he remained three years. Here he must have thought out his theology and formulated his gospel. He returned then to Damascus, but was soon forced to flee by the Jews, and then went to Jerusalem, where he met a similar reception, so he went into Syria and Cilicia (Gal. 1:21). Here he spent about nine years in Christian work, making this period of obscurity about a decade (33–43 A. D.).

Antioch in Syria was the third city of the Roman Empire, licentious, turbulent, and priding itself on its scurrilous wit. When Julian the Emperor visited it, the mob invented a coarse nickname to hurl at him. And as the followers of Jesus began to grow in numbers they were called "Christians" first in Antioch. It was a term of scurrility as thus used, "Christ" having to them the significance of jail-bird, impostor, and lunatic in one; so to call his followers "Christians" was equivalent to spitting in their faces. The church continued to call its members "disciples," "those of the Way," "the brethren," etc.; but finally this term, coined in mockery by the leaders of Antioch, was adopted, and is now the noblest title in our language. It was in this city that many converts were made among the Gentiles, and when the report came to the church at Jerusalem they called Barnabas from Cyprus to superintend the work. Embarrassed by its magnitude, he called Paul from Tarsus to be his coadjutor (45 A. D.), and the two worked together with great success. Finally the Antiochian church determined to undertake a mission to other Gentiles in the empire, and Barnabas and Paul were chosen as the first Christian missionaries.

(3) Paul the Missionary.

The Mediterranean world was to be the scene of the travels and work of Paul. It was providentially prepared for him so that a few years of labor could work

veritable miracles of achievement. It was compact and accessible in its topography. The Roman rule had given the world real peace, and over its roads and the now safe waters of the Mediterranean went Paul. His Roman citizenship gave him its protection in hours of crisis. Moreover, it was one in language, so that he needed no translator to interpret his message as he spoke to men in the "*Koine*" or vernacular Greek of the time. And everywhere Paul the Jew went he found Jewish colonies and the Jewish synagogues, which became the meeting-points of Christianity and Judaism.

The programme of Paul was the product of a masterful mind and a large vision. He sought to plant the Christian church in the strategic centres of the Roman Empire, and in this he was largely successful. He was able to plant in Italy the church at Rome; in Greece the churches of Thessalonica, Philippi, Corinth, and Berea; in Asia Minor the churches at Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, Colossæ, and Ephesus; churches were also started in the islands of Cyprus, Crete, and Malta, and in Gaul and Spain. He thus girdled the Mediterranean with Christianity.

(4) The Journeys of Paul.

With the aid of the map it will be easy to trace the journeys of Paul in his effort to spread Christianity.

(a) *The First Journey* (47–49 *A. D.*).

(With Barnabas and Mark.)

Its itinerary is: Antioch in Syria—by sea to Salamis in Cyprus—across Cyprus to Paphos—by sea to Attalia in Pamphylia—by land to Perga—Antioch of Pisidia—Iconium—Lystra—Derbe. This marked the terminus of the outgoing journey. Thence, instead of going overland to Tarsus, they retraced their steps, and the return route is Derbe—Lystra—Iconium—Antioch of Pisidia—Attalia—by sea to Antioch in Syria.

(b) *The Second Journey* (50–53 *A. D.*).

(With Silas to Lystra, where Timothy joins them, then on to Antioch in Pisidia, where Luke joins Paul.)

It was Paul's desire to return to the churches planted during the first journey, but because of a sharp difference of opinion with Barnabas over taking Mark (Barnabas's nephew, who had deserted them in the first journey), they separated, and Paul began his journey with Silas. The itinerary was as follows: Antioch in Syria—overland through Syria and Cilicia to Derbe—Lystra—Iconium—Antioch in Pisidia—through Phrygia into Mysia. He wished to go to Asia and then again to Bithynia, but was restrained by some inward voice. So he went on through Troas. Of this long journey lasting over many months we have no details in Acts 15:36–41, yet it must have been replete with dangers and adventure, for some of those thrilling events narrated in II Cor. 11:23–27 probably occurred on this journey. At Troas he heard the call of the West, Europe's call for the Christ. This crossing from Asia to Europe, told in a single verse of Acts (16:11), was one of the turning-points of human history. Christianity became thereby a Western religion. It might have been carried eastward into Asia, India, and China, but Paul carried it into Europe.

Landing at Neapolis, they went by land to Philippi, then through Amphipolis and Apollonia to Thessalonica. Here in these two cities he found an open welcome from the Macedonian people, who represented the best of Greece at that time, retaining some of the vigor and courage which had made their phalanxes so famous, while the other Greeks were soft and corrupt. These two churches gave Paul more comfort than any others he ever founded (II Cor. 8; Phil. 1:7; 2:9). Journeying on he came to Berea, where he left Silas and Timothy, and went on to Athens. Here, having entered into discussion in the agora with the Stoics and Epicureans, he was prevailed

upon to give a public address at the Areopagus, Athens's famous rostrum. Of this address we have only the introductory portion. He was interrupted, and then deserted by his audience. Nowhere did he so completely fail.

Paul moved on to Corinth by sea, discouraged, and determined to preach henceforth only the simple story of the cross (I Cor. 2:1–2). Corinth was the Paris of ancient Greece, its richest and most wicked city. Here Paul remained a year and a half, lodging with Aquila and Priscilla. He met with violence from the Jews and scorn from the Greeks. But finally the tide turned and he created a strong church. During his first month in Corinth he received in person from Silas sad news regarding the churches in Macedonia, confirmed by a letter from Timothy. So at Corinth he wrote his first letters—the Epistles to the Thessalonians (51 A. D.).

(c) *Third Journey* (*July 53–May 57 A. D.*).
(With Titus and Timothy.)

Paul had been desirous on his previous journey to evangelize the province of Asia on the coast of Asia Minor, and to this district he now turned. This journey included at its beginning a visitation of all the churches previously founded in Asia Minor, and at its close a flying visit to the churches of Greece, but few details are given of these in Acts, the writer devoting most of his time to a description of the three years' ministry of Paul in Ephesus. This city was the capital of the province, immensely wealthy, and the seat of the worship of Artemis (or Diana), whose temple was in the centre of the city—a temple, an art museum, and a bank in one. Here Paul created a strong church, which later mothered the other churches of this region mentioned in the preface to Revelation, and was also the traditional place of the later life of John. Paul was here at the zenith of his powers, and met with real success against determined opposition. It was here that, in an attempt to adjust the many prob-

lems that had arisen in the church at Corinth, Paul wrote I and II Corinthians (A. D. 55–56).

Leaving Ephesus in the early fall of 56 A. D., he went to Troas and thence into Macedonia, where he began his last journey through Greece, taking up as he went his "great collection" (Acts 20:1–4), which he was gathering for the relief of the dire poverty of the Jerusalem church. He finally reached Corinth, where he spent the winter in settling the difficulties of this church, and while here wrote the Epistle to the Romans (A. D. 57).

Then Paul, accompanied by a group of friends, each representing one of the churches and bearing with him that church's contribution to the "great collection," sailed from Corinth to Jerusalem, which journey he made in haste so as to reach Jerusalem by Pentecost (Acts 20:16).

(d) *The Voyage to Rome* (*Aug.* 59–*Feb.* 60).

(Accompanied by Luke and Aristarchus.)

Upon his return to Jerusalem Paul found himself attacked by a mob, but was rescued by the captain of the garrison in the Tower of Antonia, and to save him from his would-be Jewish assassins he was taken secretly to Cæsarea, the military headquarters in Palestine. Here under Felix, and his successor Festus, Paul remained a prisoner for about two years. At his trial before Festus, Paul, as a Roman citizen, exercised his rights and appealed to Cæsar. During this imprisonment we have recorded for us the best examples of Paul's oratory in three addresses—before the mob in Jerusalem (Acts 22:3–21), before Felix (24:10–21), and before Agrippa (26:2–29)—revealing that adaptability, tact, logical thought, directness of appeal, poetic delicacy, fervent eloquence, and moral earnestness in public speech which enabled him to win men to his religion.

In August 59 A. D., Paul was put aboard a ship bound for the chief ports of Asia, en route to Rome. This voy-

age Luke describes with minuteness, picturesqueness, and vivid dramatic power (Acts 27:1–28:15), especially in his description of the shipwreck. They finally landed at Puteoli in Italy, and thence on foot went over the Appian Way to Rome.

The account of Paul's imprisonment in Rome is very brief and with it the Book of Acts closes (Acts 28:16–31). For two years awaiting trial he lived in a hired house and was treated with courtesy. While there (60–62 A. D.) he wrote his famous "Prison Epistles"—Philippians, Ephesians (which is really an encyclical to all the churches of Asia), Colossians, and Philemon. He was finally tried and acquitted in March 62 A. D. (II Tim. 4:16–17).

The Book of Acts abruptly closes with the account of this imprisonment. Did Paul's life end at this point? Against such a conclusion the reasons are very strong. There is a general tradition that he undertook another journey and there is evidence in the New Testament itself of certain missionary work of Paul not mentioned in Acts. There is a universal tradition that Paul was martyred in Rome about 67 A. D., five years after his release.

So it seems probable that he made a final journey, which can be partially traced from incidental references in his pastoral epistles, although its course is naturally conjectural, and is suggested below.

(e) *Paul's Fourth and Last Journey* (62–67 *A. D.*). He first undertook his projected plan of the evangelization of Spain and Gaul (Romans 15:24–28), accompanied by Timothy, Titus, Trophimus, and Erastus. He then went to Ephesus (where he left Timothy in charge on his departure—I Tim. 1:3), thence to Crete (where he left Titus in charge). Then he went on by sea to Macedonia. While here he wrote and despatched to Timothy at Ephesus the First Epistle to Timothy. From Macedonia he journeyed north into Illyricum or Dalmatia,

where he carried on an evangelistic campaign with the help of Artemas and Tychicus and others (Titus 3, 12, 15). From here he wrote and despatched to Titus at Crete the Epistle to Titus. He then journeyed northward to Nicopolis of Epirus, where he spent the winter (Titus 3:12) and where he was probably joined by Titus.

This, as will be seen, was not so much a systematic itinerary as a wandering slowly from place to place for about four years, staying months in a single church. It is also marked by Paul's new policy, the placing of trusted lieutenants in charge of the churches to whom he wrote what are called the pastoral epistles.

In the spring of 67 Paul left Nicopolis, and, passing through Macedonia, he crossed over to Troas, where he lived for a while at the house of a friend named Carpus. Meanwhile the terrible Neronian persecution of Christianity had broken out, and so prominent a Christian as Paul could not long escape. Information was lodged against him by Alexander the coppersmith of Ephesus, a violent enemy of Paul (I Tim. 1:20; II Tim. 4:14), with Soranus, the proconsul of Asia, who had Paul arrested and brought from Troas to Ephesus for trial. Leaving with Carpus his beloved old travelling-cloak and his precious books (II Tim. 4:13), Paul was brought to Ephesus. But the proconsul did not wish to pass sentence on one worthy of the Emperor's vengeance, so he was sent on to Rome with a large group of his friends, most of whom were sent on various missions by Paul, so that he finally arrived accompanied only by Luke (II Tim. 4: 9–10).

Here he was almost alone, the Christians having fled or been killed by Nero. And as he lay in prison awaiting his trial he longed to see again before he died his beloved Timothy, who was to him as a son. And so he despatched to him his last letter, the Second Epistle to Timothy (67 A. D.). It is pathetic, beautiful, and tender, but

expresses also the dauntless and intrepid spirit of this old soldier of Christ in what may be called Paul's "swan song" (II Tim. 4:7–8).

Well-attested tradition holds that he was tried before Nero and condemned in November 67, and beheaded at a spot outside Rome on the Ostian Way called Aquæ Salviæ.

(5) The Book of Acts.

The sources for the life of Paul are largely drawn from the Book of Acts. Written about 80 A. D., this was the work of Luke, the physician and friend of Paul. Much of its latter part was drawn from personal experience, the so-called "we" sections, where he slips from the third into the first person in the narrative (16:10–17; 20:5; 21:18; 27:1; 28:16). The book is called the "Acts of the Apostles," but really is the "Acts" of but two men—Peter and Paul—the first twelve chapters narrating the story of the church in Jerusalem and the work of Peter, the last sixteen chapters giving us the life and work of Paul. Its historical validity was early in the nineteenth century very often assailed, but was most triumphantly vindicated by the work of Professor W. H. Ramsay, the greatest authority on the history of Asia Minor, who, beginning as a sceptic, became profoundly convinced of Luke's painstaking accuracy and utter trustworthiness. (See Ramsay's "St. Paul the Traveller.")

(6) A Chronology of Paul's Life and Letters.

It will be of help to the reader to briefly summarize here the chronological outline of Paul's life and the dates of the literature he produced.

	Life of Paul	*Letters*	
1 A. D.	Born in Tarsus.		
15 A. D.	Educated in Jerusalem.		
23–31 A. D.	Work at Tarsus as Rabbi.		
32 A. D.	Persecution of Christians.		
33 A. D.	Conversion.		
33–43 A. D.	Period of Obscurity.		
45–46 A. D.	Work at Antioch.		
47–49 A. D.	First Missionary Journey.		
50–53 A. D.	Second Missionary Journey.		
		I and II Thess.	(51)
		Galatians	(53)
53–57 A. D.	Third Missionary Journey.		
		I and II Cor.	(55–56)
		Romans	(57)
57–58 A. D.	Imprisoned at Cæsarea.		
59–60 A. D.	Voyage to Rome.		
60–62 A. D.	First Imprisonment at Rome.		
		Philippians	(60)
		Ephesians	(60)
		Colossians	(61)
		Philemon	(61)
62–67 A. D.	Fourth and Last Journey.		
		I Timothy	(63)
		Titus	(64)
67 A. D.	Final Imprisonment and Death.		
		II Timothy	(67)

CHAPTER XV

THE LETTERS OF PAUL

(1) The Writing of the Letters.

Paul's great achievement was the elaboration, universalizing, and interpreting of Christian doctrine to the age in which he lived, to restate the simple Galilean gospel of experience in the terms of the thought of his time. For that task he was fitted by the fact that he was the only real scholar in the whole circle of church leaders thoroughly familiar with Hebrew and Greek scholarship. The masses might accept the statements of fact and experience of those who testified of Jesus, but when the more thoughtful and educated asked "How?" and "Why?" it was Paul who answered their questions. And he achieved that task by the native greatness of his mind, its hospitality to all truth, its alertness and agility, its daring and fearlessness, its sanity and its realism. His was one of the great intellects of all time. And this work was done for Christianity in the form of letters written by him to churches and individuals.

The volume of commentary on Paul is greater than that of any man's writings in all literature except those of Shakespeare. But in surprising contrast is the smallness of the literature itself—forty octavo pages. And an even greater contrast is found between the character of this commentary and that of the writings. They have been interpreted as volumes of theology or religious philosophy, and subjected to the most minute and rigorous criticism as veritable oracles of God. In reality, the letters were written in haste, dictated to an amanuensis, and often never revised; they were the product not of a philosopher or a theologian but of a poet and prophet and orator; they are full of feeling rather than logic;

they are characterized by abruptness, disconnectedness, and fragmentariness of style; they are often obscure because of pre-existent facts referred to and now lost; they represent not matured and systematic philosophical ideas but a theology in the making, full of inconsistencies and imperfections; they were written not for theologians but for plain people. They were written often for local and temporary needs and situations, so some parts of them are no longer valuable. But over against all this is the greater fact that letters are a form of literature which is the most personal we know, and these letters are in Paul's case so naïvely and spontaneously self-revealing that *to read the letters is to know Paul.* And this is the supreme value of this literature.

The study of this literature is a life-task in itself. So the best that can be done is to summarize in a few phrases the essential message of each of these books.

(2) The Letters of Paul.

(a) *I and II Thessalonians—"The Hope of Christ's Return."*

These letters, written to the church at Thessalonica, are in point of time the first books of the New Testament. As such they give us an interesting insight into the life, customs, and organization of the earliest Christian churches. The latter part of the First Epistle deals with the "second coming" of Christ, which Paul bids the Thessalonians to believe is imminent. The effects of this teaching when the letter was received were, as reported to Paul, to lead the little church to neglect its immediate tasks and sit down to await the Lord's return. So Paul wrote the Second Epistle to correct this misapprehension of his meaning. Yet both letters show clearly that Paul at this time shared in the popular apocalyptic idea of the visible return of Jesus, a conception which his later letters show that he outgrew.

Following is a brief outline of these Epistles:

I Thessalonians:

Salutations and Greetings (chaps. 1–3).
The Lord's Return (chap. 4).
Exhortations and Conclusion (chap. 5).

II Thessalonians:

Salutations and Greetings (chap. 1).
Errors Concerning the Lord's Return (chap. 2).
Exhortations to Loyalty (chap. 3).

(b) *Galatians*—"*The Essence of Religion.*"

In the early church there was a strong Judaizing party with which Paul struggled for years, as the Book of Acts reveals (Acts 15). This party insisted that to become Christians all must submit to Jewish forms and ceremonies. Paul in this letter champions the broader view of Christianity. He defends his apostolic authority, rebukes the disloyalty of the Galatians, and asserts the freedom of the Christian from all laws and ceremonials of Judaism. This letter is a masterly defense of spiritual freedom, and shows that true religion is of the spirit, not the letter.

Outline:

Paul's Defense of His Authority (chaps. 1–2).
The Arguments for Spiritual Liberty (chaps. 3–4).
The Uses of Freedom (chap. 5).

(c) *I Corinthians*—"*The Cross-section of an Early Church.*"

On his third missionary journey Paul was for a long time located at Ephesus in Asia Minor. While stationed here he heard of the grievous situation of the church in Corinth which he had founded on his second tour. The church was divided into four factions—the followers of Apollos, of Peter, of Paul, and of Christ. Other abuses and corruptions natural to a church situated in a corrupt heathen city like Corinth had crept into its life. As a result of all this Paul despatched by the hand of Titus the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The first

part of the letter is devoted to a rebuke of their factionalism and immorality, and the last is filled with practical exhortations. The most famous passage in the epistle is the 13th chapter. This becomes clearer when read in connection with chapter 12. There were some in the Corinthian church who were glorying in their special gifts or talents, especially the strange "gift of tongues," a sort of ecstasy which expressed itself in strange rhapsodies of speech, and in that primitive church society was held in awe as the supreme gift. Paul manifests his sanity and clearness of mind by showing in this chapter that not "tongues" nor "prophecy" but love, with its deep moral and spiritual meanings, is the supreme gift.

This "Lyric of Love" (chap. 13) and "The Rhapsody of the Resurrection" (chap. 15) are Paul's literary masterpieces.

Outline:

Factions and Immoralities (chaps. 1–7).
Abuses in Customs and Practices (chaps. 8–11).
Spiritual Gifts (chaps. 12–14).
The Resurrection (chap. 15).
Personal Messages (chap. 16).

(d) *II Corinthians*—"*The Religion of Experience.*"

News came to Paul that his first letter had failed of its purpose and that many of the Corinthian church were resentful of and in open rebellion against his authority. So this letter is a passionate apologetic and personal defense of his ministry. It is full of autobiographical references of much interest. It gives us also an insight into the inner life of Paul and reveals his religion as the outgrowth of experience rather than theology.

Outline:

Paul's Defense of His Ministry (chaps. 1–7).
Ministering to the Saints (chaps. 8–9).
Paul's Spiritual Pilgrimage (chaps. 10–13).

(e) *Romans—"The Gospel of Faith."*

The style and character of Romans is in marked contrast to that of the previous epistles. It is evident that, unlike Galatians and Corinthians, it was no pressing practical exigency that brought it into existence, but that it is rather a calm and reasoned treatise, dealing with general conditions and needs. It is less a letter than any other of Paul's epistles, for personal and practical matters are only discussed in a small part of the epistle.

By common consent Romans is recognized as Paul's theological masterpiece. Its logic is sustained and irresistible. Point after point is presented, argued, and driven home. Its analogies and figures of speech are vivid and striking. It sets forth Paul's gospel and summarizes his theology. It treats in succession the Theology of Individual Salvation (chaps. 1–8) and the Theology of History (9–11). The text of Paul's treatise on salvation is given in 1:17, "the just shall live by faith," which became with Luther the watchword of the Reformation. The doctrinal portion of the epistle calls for the closest and keenest study, and should be read as a whole to appreciate the sweep and power of Paul's mind. This epistle has formed the basis of nearly all the theologies that have since been formed by Christian thinkers, for it clearly sets forth the great fundamentals of Christian belief through all the ages.

The practical exhortations with which the epistle closes (chaps. 12–16) are wise, sane, and inspiring, and set the highest possible standard for the practical Christian life of humility, love, and self-denial.

(f) *Philippians—"A Psalm of Gratitude."*

This and the three succeeding letters were written by Paul during his first Roman imprisonment and so are often called the "Prison Epistles."

The Epistle to the Philippians is a luminous exposition of Christianity as a personal experience. It is filled

with personal messages of love and encouragement to a church with which Paul had sustained the most intimate and delightful relations. Its occasion was a personal offering from the Philippian church brought by the hand of Epaphroditus. Greatly touched at such loving solicitude for his welfare, Paul sends him back with this letter of acknowledgment. The brief epistle is instinct with the warmth of Paul's heart and gives us a glimpse into his ardent, loving personality.

Outline:

A Message of Love (chaps. 1–2).
Warning Against Errors (chap. 3).
Personal Greetings and Expressions of Gratitude (chap. 4).

(g) *Ephesians and Colossians—"The Supremacy of Christ."*

These two letters were sent to the churches of Asia Minor by the same messenger (Col. 4:7; Eph. 6:21) and are essentially a unity in theme and general treatment. The letters universalize Christ and Christianity, giving them a cosmic significance. The Ephesian Epistle presents us with a picture of the universal and ideal Church of Jesus Christ. This is expounded and practically applied. The language is lofty and beautiful, and many passages in this epistle are unexcelled in Christian literature.

In Colossians the theme is the universal and eternal Christ. For Epaphras, who had been working in Colossæ (Col. 1:7), had brought to Paul the news of a dangerous heresy that was spreading in the Colossian church. This was the "New Thought" of the time, the Alexandrian gnosticism which was a mixture of Jewish and Oriental ideas. Matter was held to be evil, so God revealed himself through a series of angelic intermediary beings; and the human body as matter was to be mortified by ascetic practices. So Paul wrote and despatched this letter to

the Colossian church. He tells them that sanctification is to be gained by purifying the heart and not the body. But the other and philosophical feature of this heresy, the assertion of intermediary angelic beings, roused Paul to sublime heights of apologetic, as he asserts the exaltation of Christ as all in all.

Outline of Ephesians:

The Corner-stone of the Church (chaps. 1–2).
The Prayer of Paul (chap. 3).
The Unity of the Church (chap. 4).
The Holy Life (chaps. 5–6).

Outline of Colossians:

The Supremacy of Christ (chap. 1).
Salvation in the Inward Life (chap. 2).
The New Life in Christ (chaps. 3–4).

(h) *Philemon*—"*An Idyll of Brotherhood.*"

This is the first of Paul's epistles that was written to an individual rather than a church. It is very intimately connected with the Colossian letter, and was sent to the same group of persons. Philemon was a merchant prince of Colossæ, who had been converted by Paul. Onesimus, his slave, had robbed him and fled to Rome to escape pursuit. Here he had come in contact with Paul and been converted. And so Paul sends him back to Philemon with this letter in which Paul asks him to forgive and welcome Onesimus as a brother in Christ Jesus. The epistle is a revelation of the delicacy and courtesy of the apostle and we can scarcely believe that it failed of its object. It also reveals the way in which the early church realized and practised brotherhood.

(i) *I Timothy*—"*A Pastor and His Flock.*"

Timothy had been converted as a lad, while Paul was in Lystra, and had been his constant and trusted follower and companion. So Paul intrusted him with the oversight

of the Ephesian church while he went on to Macedonia, and sent him this letter.

Outline:

The Charge to Timothy (chap. 1).
Christian Conduct (chaps. 2–3).
The Personal Life of a Pastor (chap. 4).
The Conduct of Church Offices (chaps. 5–6).

(j) *Titus*—"*Spiritual Surgery.*"

Paul had intrusted to Titus the conduct of the church in Crete, which had fallen on evil days. So severe was the situation that the most drastic remedies were necessary. So this letter of advice and counsel is very severe in tone and is full of stern warnings which Paul passes on through Titus to the Cretan church.

Outline:

Titus's Mission in Crete (chap. 1).
Rebukes and Warnings to the Cretans (chaps. 2–3).

(k) *II Timothy*—"*A Song in the Night.*"

This last letter of Paul came out of the dark hours of that second imprisonment in Rome which ended in his martyrdom. In great loneliness and conscious of approaching death, the apostle longed again to see the face of his beloved Timothy. And so he wrote to him this Second Epistle. He urges Timothy to come to him as soon as possible; a wish so urgent that it is expressed four times (II Tim. 1:4; 4:9, 11, 21). He gives his last tender instructions to his disciple. But even in this extremity of his life, feeble, old, and lonely, he yet has not lost heart or faith in God, and his last words in II Tim. 4: 6–8 breathe forth the courage and sublime faith of the Apostle to the Gentiles.

Outline:

Personal Salutations and Messages (chap. 1).
Exhortations to Timothy (chap. 2).

Persecutions and Dangers (chap. 3).
Paul's Last Words (chap. 4).

(3) The Secret of Paul's Greatness.

Paul's place as one of the greatest men of history is unchallenged. As a theologian he has moulded the mind of Christendom. As a moralist he is equally influential, and his maxims and exhortations have been an invaluable power in shaping Christian conduct. But Paul was more than theologian and moralist; he was at heart a mystic, believing in direct and constant communion with God. It is from this perennial spring within that his theology derived its bold mastery and his ethics its sanity and power. So we find that the real source of Paul's greatness lay in his own personal religious experiences. His greatest contribution to Christianity was himself. And this inner life of the Great Apostle may be summed up in one word—*Christ*. Religion was to him not primarily a system of thought or a code of precepts but a personal fellowship with the Living Christ.

And this is manifest in all that he wrote. His theology may be summed up in four simple words: *Grace*, a spiritual vitality which man derives from God; *Faith*, not an intellectual but a moral achievement, revealed in obedience—"Faith is not a way of talking but a way of walking"; *Peace*, a serenity and calm in the inner life; *Power*, a term used forty times to describe Christ's effect in his life to give him a dynamic for living. This, then, was the Gospel according to Paul, and it all came out of fellowship with Jesus. For as we examine, as illustrative of this fact, his expanding views on immortality from the crude apocalypticism of Thessalonians to the sublime idea of the Practice of Immortality in II Corinthians (4:7–5:10), we find this growth the direct result of his meditation on Jesus' teaching of eternal life.

Even more in his own personal life does he show what

friendship with Jesus meant to him as we see it in his prayer life and great prayers (II Cor. 1:3–4; Phil. 1: 3–5; I Thess. 1:2; Romans 8:26) and in his consciousness of the enrichment of his life by the gifts of the spirit, and his joy in service as the supreme expression of his love for Christ (I Cor. 12:4–11).

And above all things else Paul would covet, for all those who through all time were to ponder his life and letters, that which was to him the crowning glory of his life when he exclaims: "It is no longer I who live, Christ lives in me."

CHAPTER XVI

THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

(1) The Nature of the Gospels.

The first four books of our New Testament—Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John—are called "gospels." This is an English paraphrase of the Greek title of these books, "Evangel," which became the Anglo-Saxon "godspell" ("good news"), shortened into our modern English word "gospel." They are biographies of Jesus, containing in addition to the record of his life a more or less extended record of his sayings or words. The titles prefixed "According to Matthew," ". . . Mark," etc., are not in the original, but are very ancient, and indicate that from the earliest times the church believed them to be written by these four men. The evidence is ample that by at least 150 A. D. all four gospels, under the names they now bear, were accepted by the Christian Church as the fourfold authoritative record of the acts and the sayings of Jesus Christ.

(2) The Synoptic Problem.

With the great revival of interest in Christ which marks the present-day religious mind, the scholarship of the last six decades has centred itself on the gospels. And its first and obvious result was to divide the gospels into two groups, the first three being similar in spirit, style, and ideas; the fourth gospel in purpose, vocabulary, and treatment being entirely unlike the others. To this first group—Matthew, Mark, and Luke—the adjective "synoptic" has been prefixed because they give a "synopsis" of Jesus' life, and so they are called the "synoptic gospels."

These three gospels have striking similarities and

equally striking differences, and the relation of these three to each other with the study of the correspondences and variations is known as the Synoptic Problem, and to this problem has been directed in the last half-century a most thorough research and exhaustive scholarship. The literature on this subject is very extensive, and the last word has by no means yet been said. It is possible here merely to sketch the main conclusions that are quite generally accepted, and they show that back of our present gospels lies a long history that can properly be called an evolution, and which may be briefly summarized at this point.

(3) The History of the Synoptic Gospels.

(a) *The Period of Oral Transmission.*

The two decades that followed the death of Jesus were times of intense activity in the development of Christian organization and work. As the apostles who had heard his words and known his work went about teaching the story of Jesus, they found that what he said and did was fixed in their minds quite firmly by constant repetition. These apostolic sermons before the churches, and the reminiscences of Jesus imparted in private teaching, became disseminated thus through the whole body of Christians. The presence of this large number of eye-witnesses, together with the universal expectation of Jesus' speedy return, makes it obvious why there was no inclination to write his biography. The great outstanding facts and the most important teachings were thus preserved with fidelity and clearness in the minds of his followers. They finally became crystallized in church traditions held by individual churches.

(b) *The Memorabilia.*

But the death of many eye-witnesses and the spread of the church, which made such personal testimony impossible to be orally presented, revealed the need of the

preservation of this testimony in written form. So as brief, fragmentary memoranda of certain discourses and particular deeds during the third decade (50–60 A. D.), these memorabilia were transcribed in Aramaic. They were also translated into Greek for the use of missionaries and teachers among the Greek-speaking Christians.

(c) *The "Logia" of Matthew.*

This was the most extensive of these memorabilia of Jesus. Papias wrote about 140 A. D. as follows: "Matthew composed the 'Logia' (sayings) of our Lord in the Hebrew (Aramaic) language and each man interpreted them as he was able." The "Logia" apparently consisted largely of the discourses of Jesus, with some additional material regarding the early ministry, and was probably written about 55 A. D. and very soon translated from Aramaic into Greek for missionary use. This is called nowadays by scholars "Q," the first letter of the German word "Quelle," meaning "source."

(d) *The Original Gospel of Mark.*

Papias's statement regarding Mark was that "Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, not, however, in order, as many as he remembered of the things spoken or done by Christ." Tradition dates this literary production at Rome about 65 A. D. (This is not identical with our present gospel of Mark, which was not completed until about 70 A. D., by some later hand; but these additions are not extensive.) This is known to scholarship by the German word "Ur-Marcus"—"the original Mark."

(e) *The Cycles of Written Traditions of Jesus' Teaching.*

The most recent study of this problem has been based upon the hypothesis that there was existent in the Christian communities and missionary fields certain groups of Jesus' traditional teachings, classified according to their central thought; such, for example, as his apocalyptic dis-

courses or his practical exhortations. These grew up and became crystallized in these cycles of localized or particularized discourses during the period from 60–80 A. D.

(4) Our Present Gospels.

From these preceding sources our present gospels were constructed; completed in their final form in all instances by the hand of some other than a direct eye-witness or hearer of Jesus' deeds and words; and so inevitably were in each case a mosaic of this earlier literary material. The analysis of the three present gospels in view of the foregoing is in brief as follows:

(*a*) Mark is largely Ur-Marcus (which is partly based on "Q") with a little material from the Cycles of Tradition.

(*b*) Matthew drew the order of events and much material from Mark. It contains also many teachings not found in Mark, derived probably from the Aramaic version of "Q," which explains why this gospel came to bear the name of Matthew. It also drew for some additional material upon the Cycles.

(*c*) Luke drew for much material upon Mark, and for the non-Marcan teaching upon the Greek version of "Q," and also upon the Cycles. But in addition he went back of all written records to the oral traditions and testimony of eye-witnesses.

I. The Gospel of Mark (A. D. 70)

The statement that the principal source of the original gospel of Mark was the personal reminiscences of Peter is confirmed by an examination of the present gospel in (1) the strong Aramaic flavor of the language which was derived by Peter from the actual hearing of Jesus' discourses in that tongue; (2) the disjointed arrangement of material up to 8:27 (where Peter's im-

portance in the apostolic circle begins), while after this it is systematic; (3) the primacy of Peter in the list of disciples (3:16–19).

The author, John Mark, was the son of a Christian woman of Jerusalem, named Mary (Acts 12:12), and the nephew of Barnabas. He may perhaps have been converted by Peter, who refers to him as his son in the faith (I Peter 5:13). His home is thought by some to have been the scene of the Last Supper and of Pentecost. When Barnabas and Saul went back from Jerusalem to Antioch they took John Mark with them (Acts 12:25); and he accompanied them on their first journey (Acts 13:5) and he was later associated with Paul (Col. 4:10; Philemon 24; II Tim. 4:11). Tradition says that he later lived and labored with Peter at Rome (I Peter 5:13) and there wrote his gospel. It is obvious that, although a Jew by birth, he was fully acquainted with the conditions of the Gentile world, and the need to put into the hands of Christian missionaries among the Gentiles a popular and vivid account of Jesus' life and work. So of the three gospels it is the distinctively Gentile gospel, constantly explaining Aramaic words and Jewish customs for its readers.

This original gospel (Ur-Marcus) was, by a later and unknown editor, completed as our present gospel by addition of certain passages (3:22–30; 8:1–10; chap. 13; 16:9–20). Because of the direct derivation from Peter of what he saw of Jesus' deeds, and the use of the "Logia" ("Q") as the source of the sayings of Jesus as they fell from his lips, this second gospel serves to bring us close to the Jesus of history; being a recital of his life and teachings which assumed essentially its present form not more than three decades after the death of our Lord.

It is characterized by objectivity, using concrete words and realistic descriptions. It has a directness and bold-

ness of spirit, a vividness and impetuousness of style which are unique. The word "straightway" occurs forty-two times, giving an air of action and energy to the whole book. It is simple, clear, concise in treatment. It abounds in little touches and details of circumstantiality which give one the feeling as he reads that he is an eye-witness of its events.

The aim of the gospel is to present to us Jesus among men, not so much the teacher as the worker. Hence the emphasis upon miracles and cures to set forth objectively his greatness. Written as a manual for use by the early missionaries among the Gentiles, its aim was (as was the sermon of Peter in Acts 10) to convince the Gentiles of Jesus' supremacy, not so much by recounting his teachings as by vividly portraying what he was. Its boldness, vigor, terseness, and restraint leave us with the final impression of power. Hence the ancient symbol of Mark, "the lion," is singularly appropriate.

Contents.

Introduction (1:1–13).
Jesus' Work in Galilee (1:14–9:38).
Jesus' Work in Perea (chap. 10).
Jesus' Work in Judea (chaps. 11–12).
The Closing Scenes (chaps. 13:1–16:8).
Epilogue—The Resurrection Appearances (16:9–20).

II. The Gospel of Matthew (75 A. D.)

It seems quite certain that Matthew, the disciple of Jesus, is the author of the "Logia" ("Q") written in Jerusalem. Only about a decade and a half later this body of Jesus' teaching was embodied in the present gospel of Matthew by a later editor, to whom we owe the grouping of Jesus' sayings and deeds about certain leading ideas for didactic purposes, of which the most fa-

miliar example is the Sermon on the Mount. This identical material in Luke is scattered over several periods of Jesus' work. This grouping often is in a pattern of twos and sevens. The arrangement of all the material in the present gospel is logical rather than chronological. The style is formal and less vivid than Mark. The teachings which are common to Mark and Matthew are in Matthew elaborated and amplified, and the common record of events is used by Matthew for didactic purposes. It is plainly a Jewish gospel for Jewish readers, constantly emphasizing Old Testament parallels, and quoting the Old Testament more than all the other gospels.

The aim of the gospel is to prove that Jesus is the promised Messiah of Judaism and the king of all humanity. To this end the author continually quotes Old Testament prophecy as fulfilled in the events and circumstances of Jesus' ministry. The life of Jesus is subordinated to his teachings, and he is here presented as the Rabbi rather than the Worker. This book was intended as a practical manual of Christian faith and conduct.

Contents.

Introduction (1:1–4:17):

Birth and Childhood of Jesus (chaps. 1–2).
Work of John the Baptist (chap. 3:1–12).
The Baptism and Temptation (3:13–4:17).

Jesus' Work in Galilee (4:18–13:58):

His Teachings (4:18–7:39).
His Miracles (8:1–9:35).
Call and Mission of the Twelve (9:36–10:42).
Results of His Work (chaps. 11–13).

The Crisis and Rejection in Galilee and the Founding of the Church (chaps. 14–18).

Work in Perea and Jerusalem (chaps. 19–25).

The Passion and Resurrection (chaps. 26–29).

III. The Gospel of Luke (80 A. D.)

This gospel comes to us complete, without any late additions or editorial revision, from the pen of Luke himself. His sources were the "Logia" and Ur-Marcus, but included in addition, after careful research, much material derived from oral sources and from the "Cycles of Written Tradition." There is much in his gospel that is not found in the others, notably the story of the infancy, the hymns of the nativity, the story of Jesus' youth, the Perean ministry, and the discourse on the way to Emmaus. To him also we owe the preservation of most of Jesus' parables. Possessed of a scientific mind, carefully collecting and combining facts and systematically arranging his material, his gospel is more near in spirit and quality to a real history than any of the others. Matthew is a preacher, Luke a historian. So while Matthew gathers the teachings into groups, Luke puts them in their proper historical place and perspective. So, for example, Luke preserves the "Charge to the Twelve" and the "Sending Out of the Seventy" in their original setting, while Matthew combines them in one.

Of Luke himself but little is known. He was a Gentile (Col. 4:4) and a Greek. He was probably a native of Philippi, and it was thought he met Paul first at Troas. Some have suggested that he was the "man of Macedonia" Paul saw in his vision. From this time he was associated with Paul, by whom his life was profoundly influenced; and he was with Paul at his death. He was a physician by profession, and shows this in his use of technical terms in describing disease (Luke 4:23–43; 22:44; Acts 3:7, 9, 18; 12:23; 28:5). He dedicates both his books (Gospel and Acts) to a man named Theophilus, who was probably a wealthy Christian, by whose generosity the issuance of the books was made possible.

The characteristics of the third gospel set it apart from all the rest. It shows the outlook, derived doubtless from long association with Paul, of the universal nature of Christ and Christianity; and has his spirit of tolerance, charity, and catholicity. It has an optimistic and cheerful note in contrast to the sternness and austerity of Matthew. Jesus is presented to us by Luke as the world-man, the "Son of Man," the ideal in whom universal humanity's aspirations are realized. So while Matthew traces Jesus' genealogy to Abraham, Luke traces it back to Adam. It is of a more finished literary style than Mark or Matthew and is filled with touches of exquisite beauty. The whole gospel is charming, from its opening hymns with their musical cadences to the glowing sunset scene on the way to Emmaus. Renan called it "the most beautiful book ever written." It emphasizes Jesus' love for the poor and outcast, his forgiveness of sinners, and his consolation of the sorrowful.

The aim of the gospel as indicated in 1:1–4 is to give an accurate, complete, and orderly account of Jesus' life and words. That aim he has fully realized, and we have in his gospel, considered from the canons of historical criticism, the most reliable and authoritative biography of Jesus ever written.

Contents.

Introduction (chaps. 1–3).
The Beginnings of Jesus' Work (chaps. 4–6).
The Galilean Ministry (chaps. 7–9).
The Perean Ministry (chaps. 10–18).
The Ministry at Jerusalem (chaps. 19–21).
The Passion and Resurrection (chaps. 22–24).

CHAPTER XVII

THE FOURTH GOSPEL

I. The Johannine Problem

That the fourth gospel is markedly different in contents, order, style, and character from the first three gospels is obvious to the most casual reader. So it calls for its own distinct treatment and approach. And we confront here the most passionately debated question in the whole range of modern biblical criticism, the so-called Johannine problem, which concerns itself with the authorship of all the New Testament literature that bears the name of John, but finds its focus in the authorship of the gospel. The volume of literature on this theme is enormous, and to give any account of the theories and arguments which have been presented would fill this entire book. Those which are given here, after a careful survey of all arguments and discussions, are the author's own conclusions.

This question of authorship as regards the gospel is more than a merely academic one, for the narratives and discourses here presented, so radically different from the synoptic gospels, claim to be the testimony of an eyewitness, who is explicitly stated (in what was evidently an appendix added by his friends—21:24) to be none other than John, the apostle and intimate friend of Jesus. And not simply a question of authorship alone is involved, but the very nature and character of Jesus himself. For our Christian conception of Jesus as the Son of God is based not so much upon the synoptics as on the words of the fourth gospel. Moreover, the words of Jesus most precious and sacred to the human heart are found here;

and if they be not here transcribed from memory by one who heard them, but come to us second-hand, they cannot have quite the same value. Such important issues make this Johannine problem of vital consequence to faith.

As we now confront it in its largest aspects, the facts of the case can be very briefly stated. The so-called Johannine literature of the New Testament includes the fourth gospel, three general epistles (I, II, and III John), and Revelation (or, more properly, the Apocalypse). The epistles are anonymous, containing no statement as to authorship. The gospel contains the statement of 21:24–25, which is admittedly an appendix by a later hand. And the Apocalypse distinctly states that it was written by a man named John, exiled on Patmos for his Christian faith (Rev. 1:1, 4, 9). All further discussion is dependent upon what can be brought out from (1) the discussions and determinations regarding these books in the early Christian centuries, (2) early Christian tradition, (3) the internal evidence furnished by the books themselves. And in this present brief discussion only those arguments will be presented that may be grasped by any student of this literature, without critical apparatus or technical knowledge.

Regarding the relation between the gospel and epistles there can be no reasonable doubt that they were written by one hand, as any man can verify for himself by comparison. So we may consider them as one and confine ourselves to the gospel in our discussion, leaving the epistles out of consideration. But the crux of the discussion lies in the very great difference between the gospel and the Apocalypse. It was noted and set forth as early as the third Christian century in a masterly analysis by Dionysius of Alexandria. This great difference, apparent to all, is the chief ground of diverse opinion; some holding that John wrote the Apocalypse and not the gospel, and vice

versa. The two conclusions on this question which seem to the author reasonably certain, and the arguments for each, are now set forth.

(1) The fourth gospel is the work of John the Apostle.

The Christian writers of the latter half of the second century—Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, Theophilus, Tertullian, Tatian—either quote from the gospel or mention its existence, and in several instances refer to John as its author. Some of these men wrote within fifty years after John's death. And the Muratorian Fragment of 200 A. D., which contains the earliest list of New Testament books, explicitly states that the fourth gospel was written by the Apostle John. The evidence of these earliest Christian writings is overwhelmingly in support of the Johannine authorship.

And the internal evidence is equally strong.

(*a*) That the writer was a Jew is shown by his familiarity with Jewish ideas and customs (4:9, 27; 9:2), by his style of writing, by his profound knowledge of the Old Testament, by his ardent sympathy with Judaism, and by his vivid portraiture of his fellow countrymen.

(*b*) That he was a native of Palestine is shown by his familiarity with the Palestinian version of the Old Testament and by his local knowledge (2:20; 8:20; 11:18).

(*c*) That he was an eye-witness is the claim of the author for himself, and is proved by the innumerable slight but significant touches and details possible only to one who had himself seen what he narrates.

(*d*) That he was an apostle is shown by his knowledge of the inner feelings of the disciples (2:22) and his recollections of intimate conversations between Jesus and the disciples (4:33; 11:8; 16:29).

(*e*) That he was probably John the apostle is seen in his many references to "another disciple" or "the dis-

ciple whom Jesus loved," which are believed to refer by indirection to himself, and an examination of these passages confirms this idea (18:15; 13:24; 1:41; 13:23; 19:26; 20:22; 21:7, 20).

The only adverse argument that can be brought forward from an examination of the internal evidence is the very apparent philosophic character of the whole gospel; and in particular the philosophical prologue (1:1–18), which shows familiarity with the Alexandrian or Logos Philosophy, all of which it is argued is beyond the mind and experience of John, the son of Zebedee. But a very ancient and well-attested tradition, accepted by the church from the earliest times, places the later years of John's life at Ephesus, where he is said to have died at an advanced age. And it was here that this Alexandrian gnostic philosophy most largely flourished and most profoundly affected the church. Therefore, John's long residence at Ephesus and consequent familiarity with this philosophy account fully for the style of his gospel and for its strange prologue.

(2) Revelation is not the work of the Apostle John, but is a pseudonymous Jewish-Christian Apocalypse written in John's name by an unknown author.

The proof that John did not write Revelation lies in the following facts:

(*a*) The differences in style between the two books. The gospel is written in fine and flowing Hellenic Greek, the Apocalypse in a harsh, rude Hebraic form of Greek. The one uses simple figures of speech and is clear and limpid in style; the other is fanciful, grotesque, bizarre, symbolic, figurative.

(*b*) The differences in spirit between the two books. The gospel is calm, quiet, deep, tender; the Apocalypse is passionate, fierce, intense, incoherent.

(*c*) The differences in thought and teaching between the two books. The gospel presents us with a Christianity

universal and deeply spiritual; the Apocalypse with a Christianity narrow and intensely materialistic in tone. The gospel presents us with the kingdom of God as the product of a slow, silent, inward process, spiritual and invisible; the Apocalypse presents it as sudden, spectacular, cataclysmic, supernaturally imposed from above.

(*d*) The fact that John in his gospel utterly excludes not only the apocalyptic discourses of Jesus chronicled in the synoptic gospels (Mark 13; Matt. 24; Luke 21) but has not a trace of the apocalyptic point of view from beginning to end. It is unbelievable that a man who could write Revelation should create so extensive a work as the fourth gospel, and betray no hint of the point of view so fanatically and intensely held in Revelation. Such things do not occur in the expression of human personality in literature. Leading ideas are bound to reveal themselves.

(*e*) The fact that although this book claimed to be by John, and is known to the early church from the second century onward, yet its admission to the Canon was in doubt and dispute for centuries. Had it been unquestionably from John the apostle, it seems impossible that it should not have been admitted speedily and without question into the Canon.

(*f*) The agreements and affinities between gospel and Apocalypse brought forward by advocates of the Johannine authorship of Revelation are so vague, general, and uncertain as to prove nothing.

Those who still affirm that John wrote both books can only urge in support of their claim two theories:

(*a*) That Revelation was written early in John's life, and that after a great many years, when John's whole point of view and character had changed and mellowed, he wrote the gospel. This is the commonly accepted theory of nearly all who believe that John wrote all this literature. But the difficulty in the acceptance of this theory is twofold—that the difference in view-point, spirit, and

character of Revelation and the fourth gospel is so comprehensive, so intense, so radical as to make it utterly incredible that such a transformation could take place in one man as to make him the author of both books; and that Irenæus, who was in a position to know, and who lived in the latter half of the second century, dates the Apocalypse in the reign of Domitian (95–96 A. D.), and this late date is borne out by an examination of the book, so that it cannot have been written early in John's life, as he died 95–100 A. D.

(*b*) That the gospel is composite, the nucleus being written by the Apostle John (who is also the author of the Apocalypse), but its completion in its present form being the work of a later hand. The sufficient answer to this theory is that even a cursory examination of the gospel reveals its absolute literary unity, and the fact that unlike Matthew and Luke it draws from no previous sources, but is an independent, homogeneous, and consistent piece of literature.

So then the conclusion seems reasonable that John did not write Revelation, and this may be affirmed with some certainty. The other conclusion—that the book is pseudonymous—is necessarily more conjectural. It is supported by two arguments:

(*a*) All apocalyptic literature is without exception pseudonymous. The apocalypses of Enoch, Baruch, Moses, Isaiah, Daniel, all bear the names of those great characters, and purport to be their visions, but are by a later hand. If Revelation is not pseudonymous, then it is the one and only exception to the rule.

(*b*) The larger place it occupies in the thought of the early church, and yet the long discussion as to its place in the Canon, confirm this theory. The "Apocalypse of Peter" was also known to the early church, and is universally acknowledged to be a pseudonym. It passed through the same alternation of acceptance and rejection, but was

finally rejected by the church; while the Apocalypse of John was retained. Its better fate was due to its intrinsic value.

The chronological order of this literature is probably as follows:

(*a*) The Gospel of John, written about 90 A. D. by the Apostle John, presumably at Ephesus.

(*b*) The Epistles of John, written about 90–92 A. D. by the Apostle John, presumably at Ephesus.

(*c*) The Apocalypse of John, written about 96 A. D. by some unknown author.

II. The Gospel of John
(Ephesus, A. D. 90.)

(1) Its Date.

The problem of the date of this gospel has been in part considered. That this gospel is much later than the other three is shown clearly by the problems with which it deals, which are those of the later apostolic era. The opposition between Christianity and Judaism had become more intense; the hostility between the church and the world was more evident. Heresies had arisen which had come from a discussion of the nature and person of Jesus Christ, under the influence of gnosticism. All this points to a late date for the gospel. Moreover, if we assume the Johannine authorship, the gospel represents the product of the later years of his life, of mature intellectual power, and the calm and comprehensive view of life characteristic of old age.

(2) Its Authorship.

This has already been discussed in the previous section. The author is John the apostle. Of his previous life the gospels give us a fairly comprehensive picture. He was the most receptive and spiritually minded of the disciples. Naturally, he was a man of ardent, impetuous, fiery nature (Mark 3:17; 10:35; Luke 9:49–56; Matt. 20:

20; Acts 4:19, 20), which was made sweet and tender by the continued influence of Christ upon him. It was this sensitiveness that made him the supreme biographer of Jesus. Matthew, Mark, and Luke could depict his deeds and narrate his words, but John has painted his very soul, and his gospel is the masterpiece of all religious literature. As Ernesti says: "The fourth gospel is the heart of Christ."

His gospel was the product of fifty years of meditation. Its completeness and finality bear evidences of its matured thought. All through those years John had been pondering on the life and the teachings of the Master and seeking to relate these to the life and thought of men. So his gospel has become not a biography of Jesus Christ but a philosophy of Christ.

> "Much that at first in deed and word
> Was simply and sufficiently expressed
> Had grown (or else my soul had grown to match
> Fed through such years familiar with such light
> Guarded and guided still to see and speak)
> Of new significance and fresh result:
> What first were guessed as points I now knew stars
> And named them in the gospel I have writ."

Thus aptly does Browning put this great fact in his "A Death in the Desert," and the entire poem is a matchless commentary on the background of this book.

(3) Its Purpose.

We are left in no doubt as to the purpose of John in writing this gospel, for he tells us in his own words (20: 30–31). Out of the vast mass of material at his disposal he has selected that which will help those who read to this faith which is his own, faith in the Jesus of history as the Son of God and the Saviour of mankind. And for this task his own life had perfectly fitted him.

As the years went by, more and more intimate became

his fellowship with that risen but ever-present Jesus, until John had become completely identified with the Christ, absolutely at one with his Lord. So perfect is that harmony that we cannot say, "Here speaks Jesus," "Here speaks John," for phraseology as well as thought were fused with those of Jesus. This perfect unity with the Master is the secret of his gospel's power, for it is Jesus' own voice that speaks through it to men. It is the glory of the beloved disciple that of all men who ever lived he came closest to the Master; so close that he has been able to reveal to us in his gospel the very heart and mind of Jesus. Through that gospel is offered to all men the rapture of this perfect union with Christ. We may even enter into the Holy of Holies in the 17th chapter of John. We may stand in the very presence of the Divine until we have seen the Shekinah, and the glory of God is alight in our very faces. Because John saw and knew, we, too, may perceive and comprehend. It was John's mission to reveal the Christ to the inner life.

And as that great life found its final expression in the gospel, both gospel and life speak but one message—the personality of Jesus is the central fact of Christianity. This is the theme of the gospel, writ large upon its pages. "These are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ." To John, Jesus was not a principle or a world-force, but a beautiful and glowing personality.

(4) Its Character.

No other book has brought so much peace, hope, joy, comfort, inspiration, into human hearts as that fourth volume of the life of Jesus that bears the name and seal of John, the son of Zebedee. Here are no flights of brilliant oratory, no subtle analyses, no sustained and intricate arguments, but only the simple story of a life told by one who had supremely loved. Yet in our hours of utter despair and intensest pain, when the soul yearns for comfort and inspiration, we turn not to the keen logic of

Romans nor the splendid oratory of Ephesians but flee instinctively to the refuge of the 14th chapter of John; there to find that peace that passeth all understanding in the upper room of the heart. In the bitterest trial, in temptation, grief, and anguish, by the bed of the dying, at the open grave, are whispered those blessed words, "Let not your heart be troubled"; and heaven's own calm enfolds the fevered spirit. The well-thumbed Bible that mother read opens of itself to that beautiful gospel. No other book is so much read, so well beloved. If Paul has shaped the intellectual life of Christendom, it is the beloved disciple who has moulded its inner spiritual life. His gospel is the word of him who leaned on Jesus' breast, and it throbs and pulsates as with the beating of that great heart of love.

Truly says Herder: "This little book is a still deeper sea in which the sun and stars are mirrored, and if there are eternal truths for the human race they are found in the Gospel of John."

III. The Fourfold Gospel

By the middle of the second century A. D. we have evidence in the Christian writers of that period, like Papias (140 A. D.) and Justin Martyr (150 A. D.), of their acquaintance with a fourfold gospel in a grouping or collection of the four Gospels as a unity. And Justin states that at Rome in his day the church read on Sunday at their services selections from the Old Testament and the Gospels (which he calls the "Memoirs of the Apostles"), as though they were of equal value; and this is sufficient proof of their recognition as Scripture, and of their acceptance as four equally valuable biographies, with an essential unity. A little later (170 A. D.) Tatian, a pupil of Justin, went to Edessa as a missionary among the Syrians; and, translating the four gospels into Syriac, wove them together into one continuous narrative

under the name of the Diatessaron (a Greek equivalent of our word "four-ply") ; and this harmony was the recognized Gospel in Syria for centuries. Clement of Alexandria (190 A. D.) also gives highest place among the writings of Christianity to the four gospels "which have been handed down to us."

Irenæus, bishop of Lyons (180 A. D.), presents an account of the composition of the four gospels which the churches in his time acknowledged as authoritative. So it is obvious that the four gospels as a unity were generally known, accepted, and used by the Christian church by 200 A. D.

IV. The Trustworthiness of the Gospels

But the final and most important question regarding the gospels is concerned with their credibility and trustworthiness. Recognizing that Christianity is based on Christ's life and teachings, what assurances have we that the gospels are an authentic and faithful record of his deeds and words?

(1) The first proof is documentary. The extant existing manuscripts of the New Testament (about 200 in number) are all in substantial agreement with each other. This would have been impossible had the earliest texts been tampered with. Although an interval of about 200 years lies between the original gospels (long since vanished) and our oldest copies, those copies are so many and are so substantially in agreement that we may be sure that the words of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John have been preserved for us practically without alteration.

(2) The second evidence is historical. Out of all the discussions and arguments of modern New Testament criticism with whatever negative results have ensued, upon one fact all are in substantial agreement, that the writing of the synoptic gospels took place between the years 70–80 A. D. And if this be true, since Jesus died about 30

A. D., only forty years elapsed until these biographies were written. These authors were then no farther removed from Jesus than we are from Abraham Lincoln. So any serious error of fact or statement would have at once been refuted by those who saw and heard him, just as the Lincolniana of our day is subject to just such critical revision by eye-witnesses and contemporaries.

(3) The third evidence comes from such survey of the gospels themselves as any man can make without critical scholarship or technical knowledge.

There are little touches of verisimilitude with which the gospels abound that could only have been given by eye-witnesses. For example, Mark 10:21, in which the very glance of Jesus is remembered and chronicled, must be the reminiscence of an eye-witness. There are many places in which the very Aramaic phrases in which Jesus spoke have been retained (Mark 5:41;15:34). This fact gives a touch of reality.

There is a simplicity and plainness about the gospel stories which guarantees them. There is no attempt at compliment, eulogy, sympathy, but just the bare narrative of events and words without any commentary.

Without apology or excuse the gospels plainly chronicle the stupidities and delinquencies of the disciples. Such very human representation of those who were later canonized by the church does much to confirm the veracity of the gospels.

The gospels faithfully record, also, the acts and utterances of Jesus that hostile critics, from the days of Celsus onward, have used to disprove his divinity, such as the words of agony in the garden and of despair upon the cross. The Christian literature of the second and third centuries, like the apocryphal gospels, make him an absolute deity and all these human touches have disappeared. In contrast, the gospels are manifestly sober history, not legend.

The frequent allusions by Jesus to country life and nature chronicled in the gospels are an indirect proof of genuineness. For the rest of the New Testament is distinctly urban in thought and language. Paul was a city man and dwelt and worked in cities, and his epistles abound in references and illustrations drawn from city life. The picture of heaven drawn by John in Revelation is that of a city. So the gospel representation is true to character, as Jesus was a man of the country.

And, in conclusion, it must be evident that Jesus is a marked personality, with certain dominant traits, as he appears in the gospels, and that the four evangelists are describing *one* character, for all four give us a consistent and unified conception. Certain lines in the drawing may be different, but it is the portrait of the same person.

(4) The fourth proof is literary. The men to whom reference was made who created the Christian literature of the second century not only refer to the gospels but make many quotations from them. The most convincing illustration of this is found in the writings of Justin Martyr. He wrote his books about 150 A. D., a distance from the gospel writers not much longer than that which separates us from the Civil War. And from his quotations, allusions, and references *alone* we can virtually reconstruct the *entire narrative of Jesus' life.* Moreover, his references to events or sayings in the Christ-life not found in the four gospels are only two in number, showing that those four gospels were in his day in Rome known, studied, and accepted *just as they have come down to us.*

The truth is that the gospels are the best-attested books in the world. Although a war of criticism has waged about them for seventy-five years, they have come out with untouched veracity. We can depend upon their essential fidelity to fact and their entire trustworthiness. There is no proof in them of an infallible record of the life and

words of Jesus, but that is of value only to the literalist and Bibliolater. The plain man is satisfied with the ample proof at our disposal that these four biographies faithfully record the essential teachings and main facts of the life of Jesus.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LIFE OF CHRIST

The main sources of the life of Christ are the four gospels. Outside of those there are extant brief references to Jesus in Roman literature in Tacitus, Suetonius, Pliny, and Lucian; and also in Josephus and the Talmud; but these are simply a witness to his historical existence and add nothing to what is found in the gospels.

The data for a chronology of Jesus' life are very meagre. He was born during Herod's reign, and as Herod died in 4 B. C., Jesus must have been born before that date, and the consensus of opinion fixes on the probable date as 5 B. C. As is well known, the system of reckoning time which has thus disarranged our calendar is due to an error of mediæval scholars. His ministry began, according to Luke 3:1, 23, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, when Jesus was about thirty years old. This would fix the date as 26 A. D. The length of the ministry is also in doubt. The fourth gospel has a chronological framework and refers to three passovers (2:13; 6:4; 12:1), which would make it at least two full years. In another place (John 5:1) another feast is mentioned, and if this is the passover it makes the ministry at least three full years. The generally accepted length of the ministry is three full years, based on John's chronology. Jesus' death occurred, then, in A. D. 29, at the age of thirty-four years.

The outline of the life of Christ which follows uses these probable dates as a chronological framework, and is based largely upon the arrangement in Stevens and Burton's "Harmony of the Gospels."

I. The Thirty Years of Private Life (December B. C. 5–February A. D. 26.)

(1) The Birth at Bethlehem (Matt. 2; Luke 2).

We are indebted to Matthew and Luke for the details of the birth and infancy. The day and month are unknown. The observance of December 25 is not known until the fourth century. The place of Jesus' birth is given us by both evangelists as Bethlehem, just out of Jerusalem. The stories of the Magi and the Star, of the Angels and the Shepherds, together with the poetry of Luke's gospel, all combine to make this narrative the most beautiful idyll of all literature.

(2) The Youth of Jesus.

Jesus' early days were spent in Nazareth, now a small town of about 5,000 people. There were five elements of this life at Nazareth that helped to prepare him for his work.

(a) *His Home.*

Jesus was the oldest of four brothers, whose names were James, Joses, Judas, and Simeon. He had two sisters, whose names are unknown. Tradition says that his father died during his youth, and henceforth he had to act as the head of the family. It was a deeply religious home, with fine influences for character.

(b) *The Romantic and Beautiful Scenery About Nazareth.*

From the hill above Nazareth can be seen one of the most romantic and comprehensive views in all Palestine. We may be sure it was a favorite spot with Jesus.

(c) *The Cosmopolitanism of Nazareth.*

Nazareth's population was an epitome of the Greco-Roman world, and all races and types were to be found therein. Here he could study humanity in the large.

(d) *His Education in a Synagogue School.*

Here he learned the law and the prophets. He was

taught Aramaic, and probably had some knowledge of Hebrew and Greek.

(e) *His Work as a Master Builder.*

He was not simply a carpenter, but his later teachings imply familiarity with the details of building, and his principal work was probably the rebuilding and restoration of houses and barns in Nazareth.

(3) The Visit to Jerusalem (Luke 2:40–52).

This is the only incident of his youth recorded in the gospels, and must have exercised a profound influence on the imagination of Jesus.

II. The Opening Events of the Ministry

(1) The Ministry of John the Baptist (Matt. 3:1–12; Mark 1:1–8; Luke 3:1–14).

The preparatory ministry of John the Baptist began in the summer of A. D. 26. To the New Testament writers he came as the fulfilment of prophecy—"the voice of one crying in the wilderness" (Matt. 3:3; Mark 1:2; Luke 3:4). His appearance as described in Matthew (3:4) reminded the people of Elijah. John embodied the reaction against the religious formalism and corruption of his day already partly expressed in Essenism. John stood for three things—(1) as a link between the best in Israel's past and present, (2) as a protest against existing conditions, and (3) as the herald of a new era. His teachings closely resembled those of Amos and Micah. He proclaimed a gospel of repentance with social application (Luke 3:10–14). His symbol of baptism which gave him his name was taken over from Judaism and made the distinctive sign of moral cleansing. He also renounced his own personal power in favor of a Coming One (Luke 3:15–19), and thus was the herald of Jesus.

(2) The Baptism of Jesus (Matt. 3:13–17; Mark 1:9–11; Luke 3:21–22).

The accounts of the baptism in the synoptic gospels

differ from each other. These differences are to be accounted for as variants of the story as told by Jesus to his disciples late in his life. The vision is the form in which subjective experiences are usually described in Scripture. The descent of the dove thus finds its true explanation as symbolic rather than literal. The significance of the baptism was Jesus' acceptance of the bold stand for repentance taken by John and his alliance with the Baptist. For himself it meant the full consciousness of Messiahship as implied in the words from heaven.

(3) The Temptation of Jesus (Mark 1:12–15; Matt. 4:1–11; Luke 4:1–13).

The full accounts of the Temptation, in Matthew and Luke, were of course given by Jesus to his disciples. It is put in his characteristic way, not as philosophy or psychology but as a series of pictures. Hence we cannot interpret it literally. It took place in the wilderness and traditionally on Mount Quarantana, near Jericho. The temptations all concern themselves with his Messianic work. The first was to use his power for himself, the second to win quick success by sensational means, the third to compromise his ideals to win a larger success.

(4) The First Five Disciples (John 1:19; 2:12).

The reappearance of Jesus by the Jordan was marked by John's announcement of him as Messiah (John 1:29–34). Two of John's disciples, John and Andrew, came to Jesus (John 1:37–39). Andrew found Simon Peter and brought him to Jesus (John 1:41–42). Passing through Bethsaida he called Philip, and Philip in turn brought Nathanael to Jesus (John 1:43–51).

III. The Early Judean Ministry (April A. D. 26–December A. D. 26.)

What Jesus did and said on his return from the Jordan to Galilee (John 2:1–12) may be regarded as a private ministry intended to strengthen the faith of the disciples in himself. But the proper place for the beginning of his

public work was Jerusalem, and he chose the passover week for his first public appearance.

(1) The First Cleansing of the Temple (John 2:12–22).

The Temple courts and precincts had been converted into a market by the connivance of the Temple authorities, who derived a revenue from the sale of concessions. Jesus' first act was to drive out those traders. By this bold act and his bolder words he virtually claimed supreme religious leadership of his nation. As was natural, the Jewish leaders questioned his authority (verse 18),* and this was the beginning of their opposition to him.

(2) The Interview with Nicodemus (John 2:24–3:21).

Jesus remained some time in Jerusalem and created a large interest (verse 23). This is evidenced by the coming to him of Nicodemus, a member of the Sanhedrim. To him Jesus first proclaimed the spiritual character of his mission. Verses 16–21 are John's comment on these words of Jesus.

(3) The Baptismal Ministry in Judea (John 3:22–4:3).

The synoptic gospels omit all reference to this work in Judea, and John's account is very brief. But this ministry was about eight months and was important in presenting his claims to the authorities and people of Judea. Jesus left Jerusalem for this larger work in Judea because he felt his mission there to be a failure. His Judean ministry bore a close resemblance to that of John the Baptist, whose joy at Jesus' success is one of the noblest instances of unselfishness in history (3:25–30).†

(4) The Departure from Judea (John 4:1–3; Matt. 4:12; Mark 1:14).

John suggests that Jesus left Galilee for fear lest he might embarrass John the Baptist's work. The synop-

* "Jews" in the fourth gospel always means the Jewish leaders—Pharisees, priests, etc.

† Verses 31–36 are John's comment on the above incident—a characteristic of the fourth gospel.

tists suggest that it was because John was imprisoned by Herod.

(5) The Gospel in Samaria (John 4:4–42).

On his way to Galilee he had to pass through Samaria. Here he revealed himself as Messiah to the woman at the well and found acceptance of his claims among the Samaritans.

IV. The First Period of the Galilean Ministry (December A. D. 26–May A. D. 27.)

(Mark 1:1–3:6; Matt. 4:12–23; 8:14–17; 9:1–17; 12:1–14; Luke 4:1–6:11; John 4:43–54; 5:1–46.)

(1) The Beginnings of the Ministry (John 4:46–54; Luke 4:16–30).

Jesus' return to Galilee was as one already famous. His first act was the healing of the nobleman's son at Capernaum. On his visit to his home city, Nazareth, he was met with opposition and hatred.

(2) The First Preaching Tour.

After his rejection at Nazareth, Jesus made Capernaum his home and the centre of his Galilean ministry (Luke 4:31). Here he called Peter, Andrew, John, and James as disciples (Luke 5:1–11). They had evidently returned to their fishing, after their first call. This marks the beginning of Jesus' organized activity. His first remarkable miracles were then wrought in Capernaum (Mark 1:21–34) and created intense excitement. The next day Jesus began his first preaching tour in Galilee, lasting over many weeks (Matt. 4:23). Popular enthusiasm for Jesus was growing fast.

(3) The Beginnings of Pharisaic Opposition.

Jesus' great popularity alarmed the Scribes and Pharisees. Their first encounter was their questioning of his authority in the healing of the paralytic (Mark 2:1–12). The second attack came when Jesus sat down at the

table of Matthew the Publican (Mark 2:13–17). The third time the opposition centred about the question of fasting (Luke 5:33–39).

(4) Deepening Pharisaic Opposition.

Some time after these events Jesus went up to the Passover at Jerusalem. Here he healed a man at the Pool of Bethesda. The fact that this miracle was wrought on the Sabbath stirred up the criticism of the Scribes and Pharisees (John 5). On another occasion, as he was walking through a grain-field on the Sabbath, the plucking of a few ears of grain still further angered the Pharisees (Mark 2:23–28). Again, he performed one more miracle of healing on the Sabbath, and the Pharisees began to plot against his life (Mark 3:1–6).

V. The Second Period of the Galilean Ministry (May A. D. 27–April A. D. 28.)

(1) The Choice of the Twelve (Mark 3:7–19; Luke 6: 12–19).

Jesus' sudden popularity was in part due to his many miracles of healing. He seems to have early chosen a group of twelve men for companionship and training. The names of the twelve common to the first three gospels are as follows: Peter, Andrew, James of Zebedee, John, Philip, Thomas, Matthew, James of Alpheus, Judas Iscariot. Three names offer difficulty: (1) Bartholomew, or "Son of Tolmai," whom most scholars identify with Nathanael; (2) Simon, called Cananæan or Zealot, the latter being the real title; and (3) Thaddeus, who is called Judas in Luke, but whose real name is the first given.

(2) The Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5, 6, 7; Luke 6: 11–12).

This was delivered on the Horns of Hattin, a small mountain near Capernaum. It shows Jesus' supremacy

as a teacher in (1) his knowledge of God, (2) knowledge of man, (3) simplicity, and (4) positiveness. Much of this sermon is poetic in its literary structure.

(3) John the Baptist's Last Message (Luke 7:18–35; Matt. 11:2–30).

John was not doubtful, but his disciples were, so he sends them to Jesus for answer.

(4) Anointing of Jesus in Simon's House (Luke 7:36–50).

This striking scene reveals the beauty and strength of Jesus' character, tender to the woman, stern toward Simon.

(5) Warnings to Scribes and Pharisees (Mark 3:20–30; Matt. 12:22–45).

Jesus warns them against the "unpardonable sin," which is the paralysis of the spiritual nature through selfishness.

(6) The Parables by the Sea (Mark 4:1–34; Luke 8:4–18; Matt. 13:1–33).

These were spoken by the Sea of Galilee. There are six of them: (1) the sower, (2) the wheat and tares, (3) the mustard-seed, (4) the treasure in the field, (5) the pearls, (6) the net. They all deal with the meaning of the kingdom.

(7) The Journey to Gadara (Matt. 8:23–34; Mark 4:35; 5:20).

On the way across the lake Jesus stilled the tempest. The Gadarene demoniac was, we should say to-day, an insane man. His restoration to health was by the authority of Jesus' personality.

(8) The Raising of Jairus's Daughter (Mark 5:21–43; Matt. 9:18–26).

On his return from Gadara to Capernaum, Jesus not only raised the daughter of Jairus, the ruler of the Synagogue, but healed the woman who touched him, and two blind men and a demoniac.

(9) The Mission of the Twelve (Matt. 9:36–11:1).

Jesus sends out the twelve to preach and heal in Galilee, with explicit directions as to methods and work.

(10) The Feeding of the 5,000 (Mark 6:30–46; John 6:1–71).

This event marks the climax of Jesus' popularity. The stupendous miracle so excited the multitude that they tried to make Jesus king. Jesus' refusal of a crown and his subsequent discourse on the Bread of Life were the turning-point in his ministry. Henceforth his popularity began to decline.

VI. The Third Period of the Galilean Ministry (April A. D. 28–November A. D. 28.)

(1) Journey Toward Tyre and Sidon and Return (Matt. 15:21–31; Mark 7:24–37).

After the crisis at Capernaum, Jesus sought seclusion with his disciples, as the hostility of the Jewish leaders and the waning of his popularity rendered continued public activity inadvisable. He withdrew into Phœnicia, where he healed the Syrophœnician woman's daughter. Then he crossed the Lebanon range and came southward to Decapolis. Here he worked many miracles, among them the feeding of the 4,000 (Mark 8:1–9). Much of the time during this journey was spent in teaching the disciples.

(2) Second Retirement into Northern Galilee (Matt. 15:39–16:28; Mark 8:10–9:1).

After the feeding of the 4,000 the Jewish leaders demanded a sign. Jesus, perceiving them still in this hostile attitude, withdrew again and journeyed into the neighborhood of Cæsarea Philippi. Here in this retreat with his disciples, Peter made his memorable confession that Jesus was the Christ. Heartened by this, Jesus began to foretell his death at Jerusalem.

(3) The Transfiguration (Mark 9:2–50; Matt. 17:1–18:35).

In the midst of the disheartenment of these many weeks of practical exile came the transfiguration, which occurred on one of the peaks of the Mount Hermon range. To Christ it was a comfort and an assurance of the Father's approval. To the disciples it was a solemn indorsement of the divine claims. As they went back toward Capernaum, Jesus for a second time announced his impending death. Arrived in Capernaum, he sought to create a true spirit of humility in his disciples.

(4) Christ at the Feast of Tabernacles (John 7:1–52; John 8:1–59).

Shortly after the return to Capernaum, Jesus went to Jerusalem and boldly proclaimed his Messiahship at the Feast of Tabernacles. His remarkable discourse on "The Light of the World" created great excitement and elicited hostility among both the leaders and the people, so that they sought to kill him. He escaped from this perilous situation and returned to Galilee.

VII. The Perean Ministry
(November A. D. 28–April 11, A. D. 29.)

When Jesus left Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles, he seems to have returned to Galilee, but remained there only a short time, leaving Galilee for Perea, where he spent about five months.

(1) The Mission of the Seventy (Luke 9:51–11:13).

The beginning of the Perean ministry was signalized by the sending out of seventy of his disciples to reach and quickly evangelize those portions of Palestine which he had not reached. Their triumphal return after a few weeks filled him with joy.

(2) The Visit to Jerusalem at the Feast of Dedication (John 9–10).

This feast fell in the last week of December, and Jesus

went up to Jerusalem, where he healed a man born blind. The cruelty of the Pharisees toward this man led Jesus to rebuke them openly and to declare himself the Good Shepherd. Angered by his words, his enemies tried to stone and arrest him, but again he escaped and returned to Perea.

(3) Conflicts with the Pharisees (Luke 11:17–14:35).

Jesus found himself again in the midst of great multitudes. His popularity aroused the active opposition of his enemies and they did all they could to hinder his work and destroy his influence.

(4) Three Parables of Grace (Luke 15:1–17:10).

It is during this period that Luke presents Jesus as speaking in answer to the venomous attacks upon him because he showed favor to publicans and sinners, the three parables of the lost sheep, the lost coin, and the lost son.

(5) The Raising of Lazarus (John 11:1–54).

While Jesus was in Perea, Lazarus of Bethany fell sick, and word was sent to Jesus. He purposely delayed his coming until Lazarus was buried, and then raised him from the tomb. This miracle performed so near Jerusalem aroused his enemies to fury, and the Sanhedrim resolved to put Jesus to death. Jesus therefore withdrew to Ephraim, about thirteen miles from Jerusalem.

(6) The Last Journey to Jerusalem (Mark 10:2–52; Luke 17:11–19, 28; John 11:55–12:11).

The Passover was now at hand, and Jesus and his disciples started toward Jerusalem. On the way many interesting events occurred: the healing of the two lepers, the meeting with the rich young ruler, etc., and several parables were spoken. On this journey also Jesus foretold his crucifixion and tried to teach his disciples the meaning of the cross. Arriving at Jericho, Jesus healed Bartimeus, and became the guest of Zaccheus. On Friday,

April 9, A. D. 29, Jesus arrived at Bethany. Here, at a feast given in his honor, Mary anointed him with oil as a testimony of her love.

VIII. The Closing Week
(April 11, A. D. 29–April 18, A. D. 29.)

These seven days previous to the resurrection morning are the most important in the life of Jesus and are given in great detail in all four gospels. Besides the historical events of this period, four of Christ's longer discourses are given—the three parables of warning, the discourse against the Scribes and Pharisees, the apocalyptic discourses, and the farewell discourse with the disciples. As comment on this part of Jesus' life is impossible in these limits, a mere outline of the seven days is given with partial Scripture references:

(*a*) Sunday, April 11. The Day of Triumph (Luke 19:21–44).

(*b*) Monday, April 12. The Day of Authority (Matt. 21:18–19).

(*c*) Tuesday, April 13. The Day of Conflict (Matt. 21:23; 26:16).

(*d*) Wednesday, April 14. The Day of Silence. (No record.)

(*e*) Thursday, April 15. The Day of Fellowship with the Disciples (John 13–17).

(*f*) Friday, April 16. The Day of Suffering (Matt. 26:1; 27:61).

(*g*) Saturday, April 17. The Day in the Tomb (Matt. 27:62–66).

IX. The Resurrection
(April 18, A. D. 29.)

(1) Jesus' body was placed in the tomb just before sunset on Friday, remaining in the tomb on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, guarded by Roman soldiers. At the

first dawn of Sunday some of the women coming early to finish the embalming of the body found the tomb empty. They ran and told the disciples, and Peter and John hurried to the tomb to verify the story.

(2) The Resurrection Appearances (Matt. 28:1–20; Luke 24:1–53; John 20–21).

The recorded appearances of Jesus after his resurrection are as follows in their approximate chronological order:

(*a*) To Mary Magdalene (John 20:1–18).

(*b*) To the women of Galilee (Matt. 28:1–10).

(*c*) To the two on the way to Emmaus (Luke 24:13–32).

(*d*) To Simon Peter (Luke 24:33–34).

(*e*) To the ten disciples (Luke 24:36–43; John 20:19–25).

(*f*) To the eleven disciples (John 20:26–29).

(*g*) To the seven disciples by Sea of Galilee (John 21).

(*h*) To the eleven and many others on a mountain in Galilee (Matt. 28:16–20; I Cor. 15:6).

(*i*) Final appearance to disciples in Jerusalem (Luke 24:44–49).

(*j*) Ascension from Mount of Olives (Luke 24:50–53; Acts 1:4–11).

CHAPTER XIX

LATER NEW TESTAMENT LITERATURE —JAMES, PETER, JUDE

We come now in the New Testament to a group of letters called "catholic," or general, epistles, written not to specific individuals or churches but to the church at large. These epistles are eight in number: one from an unknown author called "The Epistle to Hebrews," one from James, one from Jude, two from Peter, and three from John. We shall examine them in their probable order of writing.

I. The Epistle of James (Jerusalem, A. D. 61.)

The authorship of this epistle is made difficult to determine with certainty, because of the fact that there are three men of this name in the New Testament: James, the son of Zebedee, one of the apostles, who was beheaded by Herod in A. D. 44; James, the son of Alphæus, one of the apostles, who is hardly more than mentioned in the New Testament; and James, "the Lord's brother," who is frequently mentioned in the New Testament (Gal. 1:19; Acts 12:17; 15:13; 21:18; Matt. 13:55; Mark 6:3). Among biblical scholars it is generally believed that this third James is the author of this epistle. He was a man of saintly character, so that he became known as "James the Just." His strength of character rather than his official position as a bishop of the Jerusalem church gave him his authority and power among the Christians. Paul mentions him as one of the "pillars of the church" (Gal. 2:9). As he was not one of the Twelve Apostles, this explains why his epistle was so generally accepted

by the Jews and Jewish Christians, and almost unknown to the Western church. As the brother of the Lord he had been much in his society, and so his epistle contains many reminiscences of Christ's words which are independent of the language of the gospels. James was put to death in A. D. 63, so he cannot have written later than that date. Some scholars are inclined to put this epistle some fifteen years earlier, but the general opinion inclines to a date just prior to his death. The reason for this is the omission of all reference to the Judaistic controversy between Paul and the Jewish Christians, showing that it was written some time later than the controversy.

The letter is addressed to the Christian Jews of the Dispersion, especially in Syria and Egypt. The style is peculiar. It is sharp, incisive, epigrammatic; reminding us strikingly of the wisdom literature of the Old Testament. This impression is further enhanced by the recurrence of the phrase "my brethren," reminding us of the "my son" of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes; and by the quotations from the wisdom literature—six times from Job, two from Proverbs, five from Ecclesiasticus, and fifteen from Ecclesiastes. In style, form, and spirit this book is a New Testament philosophy; and Professor Moulton in his "Modern Readers' Bible" calls it "The Wisdom of St. James," and divides it into a series of maxims and essays. It is throughout practical and prudential, like the Book of Proverbs.

This epistle is the historic monument of Judaic Christianity. It is throughout an earnest homily in praise of Christian wisdom, exalting deeds, not words. Its readers are warned against barren orthodoxy, covetousness, worldliness, and pride. The work is saturated with Old Testament languages and allusions. It is the piety of the law transformed by the spirit of the Gospel. In it is no theology, no rhapsody, no poetry, no eloquence, but a great deal of common sense and practical counsel.

It is also of special interest as revealing the social conditions of the Jewish Christian Church, which was radical in its social teachings and life. The ancient democracy of the Hebrew prophets and the later democracy of the synagogue were still in evidence, far more than in the Gentile Christian churches, which were created among a people long accustomed to autocratic forms of government.

This epistle of James has no plan and is difficult of analysis. This suggested outline may help to show the drift of its thought:

The Value of Trial (1:1–18).
Formal and True Religion (1:19–27).
Respect of Persons (2:1–13).
Belief and Practice (2:14–26).
The Dangers of the Tongue (3:1–12).
True and False Wisdom (3:13–18).
Quarrelsomeness and Worldliness (4:1–17).
Denunciations and Encouragements (5:1–11).
Miscellaneous Precepts (5:12–20).

II. The Letters of Peter

(1) Peter's Last Years.

The one outstanding figure of the gospels and the early part of the Book of Acts is Simon Peter. It is possible to construct with completeness and accuracy a detailed account of his early years. His impetuous boldness made him conspicuous among the disciples of Jesus; and after the death of Christ his courage and native powers of leadership made him the natural head of the apostolic circle. But with the emergence of Paul upon the scene of history the New Testament historical literature concentrates its interest henceforth in him, and Peter is left entirely in the background. The last mention of Peter in the Book of Acts is in connection with the Council at

Jerusalem (Acts 15). His further career is involved in obscurity, and can only be conjectured.

Shortly after the Council we find him at Antioch (Gal. 2:11). This was probably about A. D. 51. In his later missionary labors he was associated with Mark (I Peter 5:13) and with Silvanus (I Peter 5:12). What the field of his labors in his later life really was we do not know. If "Babylon" (I Peter 5:13) is to be taken in the literal sense, he may have carried the gospel to the Jews of the great Eastern dispersion whose centre was the historic Babylon. If it is to be taken in a mystic sense as referring to Rome (Rev. 17), then his ministry was in Rome. Upon this place left vacant in New Testament history (for these are all the data the New Testament gives us) has been reared a vast edifice of tradition. Suffice it to mention that he is said to have gone to Rome and labored there for twenty-five years and to have been crucified in the last year of Nero's reign; being at his own request nailed to the cross head downward, since he deemed himself unworthy to be crucified in the same manner as his Lord. To this last tradition Clement of Rome (A. D. 96), Ignatius (A. D. 110), and Dionysius of Corinth (A. D. 160) all testify, and there seems no reason to doubt its truth.

Two epistles bearing his name are found in our New Testament:

(2) The First Epistle of Peter (Rome (?), A. D. 65).

This epistle was a general letter, addressed to the Christians of Asia Minor (I Peter 1:1). It is possible that it was written at Rome at the beginning of the Neronian persecution (I Peter 5:13, R. V. margin). It was designed to encourage their steadfastness under persecutions. They were urged to be careful not to offend the civil authorities (2:13–18) and, as they were under constant surveillance and suspicion (3:15), to give no occasion of offense (3:17). They must prepare for a more terrible trial to come

(4:12), and when it comes rejoice that they were worthy to share the sufferings of their brethren elsewhere (5:9). All these exhortations point indisputably to the persecution under Nero, which, having seized upon the Roman church, was reaching out after the churches of the provinces, and this letter is by way of warning and preparation.

It is interesting to trace in this epistle the influence of Paul's writings, showing that they were already being circulated among the churches. It is also of surpassing interest to find here Peter's own reminiscences of Jesus (1:3, 8, 21; 2:21, 23; 5:1, 5). And his own personal experiences are interwoven in it, it is written out of his own spiritual life. It is his spiritual biography. His impetuosity evokes 2:20; his cowardice 3:15; his miserable fall 5:8. The epistle is also important as setting forth the teaching of the church regarding the "last things" in chaps. 4–5.

Following is an outline of the epistle:

Salutation (1:1–2).
The Meaning of Suffering (1:3–12).
The Christian Ideal (1:13–25).
Spiritual Development (2:1–10).
The Religious Spirit (2:11–15).
Political, Social, and Domestic Duties (2:15–3:7).
The Christlike Character (3:8–22).
The Impending Judgment (chap. 4).
Final Exhortation (chap. 5).

(3) The Second Epistle of Peter (A. D. 150).

From very early times this epistle has been with very good reason doubted to be the work of Peter. In the fourth century this led to an almost unanimous rejection. Gradually, however, it later won its recognition as canonical, and held that position for many centuries, until the question of its genuineness was again raised in the time of the Reformation. Again it won credence; and in the modern

Bible has again received its place in the New Testament canon. But the arguments against this place of the book in our Bible are overwhelming and so it has been here dated A. D. 150 and indicated as properly lying outside the canon. The reasons for this important decision of modern scholarship are as follows:

(*a*) We have no certain traces of even the existence of this epistle, and no mention of it until 256 A. D. After that time we find the epistle gaining acceptance in certain churches, though doubted by many others to be genuine. It was finally received into the New Testament of Greek-speaking and Latin-speaking Christendom, though even at that date the Syriac-speaking churches refused it admission to the canon.

(*b*) The vocabulary and style are utterly unlike I Peter. It is artificial, stilted, where I Peter is simple and natural. Its vocabulary is singularly unlike that of I Peter.

(*c*) The doctrines of the epistle are remarkable also as coming from the Apostle Peter. There is no mention of the passion, the resurrection, the glorified Christ, the Holy Spirit, and prayer. All these bulk large in the first epistle.

(*d*) The references in 3:2–4 and 3:15–16 to the existence and use as authoritative of a group of gospels, and a collection of St. Paul's letters misused by heretics, take us out into a period later than 100 A. D.; since no such attitude was found in the church toward this Christian literature prior to 125 A. D. And this is, of course, to put the book outside the limits of the lifetime of Peter, and make it impossible of being produced by him.

(*e*) There was discovered in 1886, in Upper Egypt, a manuscript containing the large part of an apocryphal book called the "Apocalypse of Peter," written about 150 A. D. It is so strikingly parallel to our present II Peter as to make it likely that both works come from about the same date.

All this furnishes a cumulative proof that this epistle

was not written by the Apostle Peter but by some later author about the middle of the second Christian century.

And all the proof to the contrary, intended to establish its Petrine authorship, is the testimony of tradition and its acceptance into the canon.

III. The Epistle of Jude (A. D. 69.)

The author of this epistle identifies himself in the opening verse as the "brother of James." This makes it clear that he was not "Jude of James" (Luke 6:16), elsewhere called Thaddeus or Lebbæus, one of the apostles; but rather the brother of James the Just, and so one of the brothers of Jesus named in Matt. 13:55. Like his brother James, he makes no claim to be the brother of Jesus, but also modestly calls himself the "servant of Jesus Christ." The fact that it was not written by an apostle accounts, as in the case of the Epistle of James, for the question long raised regarding its admission to the canon.

The date of the book has long been in dispute. The internal evidence that leads to the conclusion that it was written about A. D. 69 is (1) the character of the false teaching attacked in the epistle, which cannot belong to the first half but to the latter half of the first century, and corresponds closely to that to which allusion is made in the pastoral epistles of Paul; hence the book cannot have been written earlier than 60 A. D.; (2) the absence of all allusions to the fall of Jerusalem in recounting the judgments of God which makes it almost certain that the book cannot have been written later than 70 A. D. Further, a well-authenticated tradition, chronicled by Eusebius, tells of an interview of the grandson of Jude with Domitian in 80 A. D., during which the fact was stated that Jude had been dead some time. All the evidence then places the date about 69 A. D.

The book was evidently written for Gentile Christians,

as is implied in verse 3 by the phrase "our common salvation," showing that it is a Jewish Christian writing to Gentile Christians. This same verse also indicates that the writer had a more comprehensive epistle in mind, but a certain exigency led him to write this brief letter. That exigency was the entrance among these Christians of certain false brethren, who were teaching doctrines destructive of Christianity. It is strictly to warn them of their danger and severely to attack these errors that the epistle is written. In spirit and style it reminds one of the old Hebrew prophets. It lashes with a whip of flame those libertines who are using religion as a cloak for their sins and misleading the church.

The style of this letter is peculiar. Its ideas and figures are arranged in groups of threes. One other peculiarity has been noted from the earliest times—the use of apocryphal literature. From the apocryphal "Book of Enoch" a quotation is made verbatim (verses 14–15). There are also a large number of parallels with this book showing the complete familiarity of Jude with the Book of Enoch. (See Hastings's Bible Dictionary, article "Epistle of Jude.") There is also a clear allusion to the apocryphal "Assumption of Moses" (verse 9).

Yet with all its strange allusions, its severity of tone and invective, the book is distinctly Christian in spirit, and closes with the most beautiful doxology in the New Testament (verses 24–25).

CHAPTER XX

THE LATER NEW TESTAMENT LITERATURE —HEBREWS, JOHN, REVELATION

I. The Epistle to the Hebrews

(1) The Fall of Jerusalem.

A succession of Roman governors in Palestine, each more cruel and unscrupulous than his predecessor, roused the anger of the Jewish people, and led to a great rebellion which began in A. D. 65 and lasted through the next five years. Success came at first to the Jews, but in 67 Vespasian conquered the country and invested Jerusalem. But the death of Nero in A. D. 68 was the signal for the ambitious Vespasian to leave for Rome, where he was finally crowned emperor. In his absence the campaign in Palestine was at a deadlock, until in A. D. 70 he sent his son Titus to Palestine, who resumed the siege of Jerusalem, and captured it on September 7, A. D. 70, and reduced it to ruins. The graphic story of this Jewish War and the Fall of Jerusalem is told by Josephus.

The impending fall of Jerusalem had a profound effect upon Judaism. Some it plunged into utter despair. Upon others it had the same effect persecution has always seemed to have for the Jews: it only served to intensify loyalty to the institutions and ideas of Judaism. And to the Jewish Christians it was a crisis which brought a serious consideration of all that for which Judaism stood in their lives. They had left the Jewish Church, it is true; but the impending destruction of the temple was nevertheless a shocking thing to contemplate. The old order was breaking up and their confidence in the stability of things was being destroyed. Some were in danger of apostasy to Judaism. All were in doubt, fear, and perplexity.

How did they know that this was not the end of all religion? Was Christianity also a thing that should pass away? It was an awful crisis for the faith of Judaic Christianity. There was need for a strong message of comfort and encouragement; of a vigorous defense of Christianity and an able apologetic; and it was found in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

(2) The Epistle to the Hebrews.

The title of this book shows that it is addressed to Hebrew Christians. And that it was intended originally for some particular group (though its general character made it later a truly "catholic" epistle) is evidenced by certain references of a personal character in the epistle (5:11; 6:9–10; 13:18–19:22–25). The destination is, of course, unknown, but it seems most likely that it was addressed to the Jewish Christians of Syria, as they were the ones most directly affected by the impending catastrophe. The date is also thus fixed as about 70 A. D., at the time when the Roman armies had gathered around Jerusalem and the fall of the city was in sight.

The purpose of the epistle is thus to assure the Jewish Christians that the passing away of the old order was to usher in the new. The death of the old would be followed by the birth of the new. And because these Jewish Christians had already accepted this new faith of the future, they were enjoined to lift up their heads with joy. For all the elements of this new religion of Christianity were immeasurably better than the old faith of Judaism. Christianity might seem novel and untried, devoid of all the elaborate ritualism of Judaism, and yet it was far superior, both in ideals and practice, to their old faith. Thus the epistle became a vigorous and systematic defense of Christianity, and proceeds by the method of contrast between Christianity and Judaism. The central truth of the epistle is the priesthood of Christ, by which the whole sacrificial system of Judaism is superseded. Two

separate comparisons are made: between Christ and the agents of revelation—prophets and angels; and the agents of redemption—Moses and Aaron.

The authorship of the epistle is one of the unsolved riddles of New Testament study. The book as it stands is anonymous, yet its apostolic origin is certain, since it was used in the last decade of the first century, as is stated by Clement of Rome (A. D. 96). Four authors have been suggested:

Paul.

This was held by the Eastern churches in the third century, but was denied by the Western churches. Later, through its acceptance by Eusebius, the Pauline authorship became currently believed, and was perpetuated to us by the title prefixed to the book in the King James Version. The Revised Version, however, follows the original Greek manuscript in omitting all reference to authorship. The reasons against Pauline authorship are overwhelming: (*a*) Its anonymity. (*b*) The author's second-hand hearing of Christ's message (2:3; 4:2). (*c*) Its style is too smooth, rhythmic, and stately to be Pauline. (*d*) Difference of theological concepts and the use and meaning of "faith" and "salvation." (*e*) The temperament is unlike Paul, calm and philosophic.

Apollos.

This theory was first presented by Martin Luther. It is supported by the references to the Septuagint, the use of parable and allegory, the use of the philosophical ideas and phraseology. All this points to one who was familiar with the Alexandrian school of theology, a profound scholar and a fine writer. Such a man is found in Apollos, who was an Alexandrian Jew, learned and eloquent, an associate of Paul and Timothy (Acts 18:24; 19:1), and a man of such marked modesty as to conceal his identity in anonymity. Against this it is urged that Apollos would not be in position to deal with

Syriac Judaism so plainly and authoritatively as this book does, as he belonged to the other wing of Judaism—the Hellenistic Jews of the Dispersion.

Barnabas.

Very early in Africa this tradition grew up of the authorship of Hebrews by Barnabas, which is voiced by Tertullian. It is urged that Barnabas shared Paul's views, but was more conservative; that he was familiar with Greek culture, that he was in close and constant touch with the churches in Palestine, and so could probably speak to them with authority.

Priscilla.

With a wealth of learning and an earnest pursuit of detail, J. A. Robertson argues very plausibly that the author was not a man but a woman—Priscilla (Acts 18:2, 18; Romans 16:3). A Roman woman, high born and educated, marrying a Jew, prominent in the early church and a close friend of Paul, such authorship does not seem impossible.

As to this whole subject of authorship we shall be forced to say with Origen more than sixteen centuries ago: "Who wrote the epistle, God alone knows." The more probable view is that which ascribes it to Apollos.

Following is the outline of the Epistle:

The Exaltation of Jesus (chaps. 1–2).

The High Priesthood of Christ (chaps. 3–9).

(*a*) The permanence of Christ's priesthood.
(*b*) The supremacy of Christ's priesthood.
(*c*) The mediatorship of Christ's priesthood.

A Call to Hold Fast Their Faith (chaps. 10, 12).

Conclusion (chap. 13).

II. The Trinity of Johannine Epistles

(1) The Epistles of John.

These are three in number, and as already indicated

in a preceding chapter the resemblances to the gospel in style, vocabulary, and ideas are so numerous as to lead to the certain conclusion that they are all from the pen of the Apostle John. They differ, however, in subject-matter and purpose, and will be treated separately. That they are later than the gospel is proved by many hints and references in them to a previous message which we may assume to be the gospel from the identity of the passages to which allusion is made.

(2) The First Epistle of John.

This epistle contains no personal references whatever and no salutation or benediction. Its purpose is moral and practical, and also in a sense antiheretical. It was written evidently to expose error and combat heresy in the church. It was the last epistle to the church and the most sublime, moving on the high plane of noble spiritual truths. It is really not a letter at all in the ordinary sense. Its statements are not arguments but affirmations. It presents the conclusions of Christian philosophy in a meditative fashion. The book thus as a whole should not be regarded as a letter at all, but, as Moulton has pointed out ("Modern Readers' Bible," "John"), is really analogous to the philosophical literature of the Old Testament and may properly be termed "The Wisdom of St. John." Hence it is not continuous or systematic in arrangement, but falls into a series of separate, brief, independent meditations. So the following analysis (after Moulton) seems most consistent:

Prologue (1:1–4).
God's Light (1:5–7).
Cleansing from Sin (1:8–2:2).
The Commandments Our Surety (2:3–6).
The Old Commandment and the New (2:7–11).
The Three Ages (2:12–14).
Love of the World (2:15–17).
Antichrist (2:18–28).

Sons of God (2:29–3:12).
Love of the Brethren (3:12–23).
The Spirit Our Surety (3:24–4:6).
Love (4:7–21).
Faith (5:1–5).
The Three Witnesses (5:6–13).
Boldness in Asking (5:14–17).
Epilogue (5:18–21).

(3) The Second Epistle of John.

This is a real letter addressed to some woman in the church, a Christian matron held in high esteem in a wide Christian circle, and about whose children the apostle had something to say, partly in praise, partly in caution. Together with the third epistle it is probably part of the private correspondence of John which has in some way been preserved.

(4) The Third Epistle of John.

This is addressed to Gaius, evidently a layman. He is commended for his hospitality, which was a virtue much prized in the early church. This contrasts with the spirit of Diotrephes, another member of this same church, whose intolerant and inhospitable nature is described in a few skilful touches. The apostle indicates his intention soon to visit this church and set matters right. We may assume that the church in which these men lived was probably one of the smaller churches about Ephesus.

III. The Book of Revelation (96 A. D.)

(1) Authorship and Date.

The authorship has been already fully discussed. As to the date, an examination of the book shows that it was written after the Neronian persecution, for it refers to certain terrible trials and sorrows of the church as past (2:2, 9, 13; 3:8–9), and a far greater trial (3:10)

as upon them. No such general movement against Christianity in Asia Minor, including the banishment of a conspicuous Christian (1:9), occurred before the days of Domitian. Hence the conclusion that it was written at the time of the Domitian persecution.

(2) Its Character.

It must be kept in mind that Revelation is an apocalypse and as such it shows all the peculiar elements of apocalyptic literature, which was a very common form of religious literature in the Christian and pre-Christian Era.

It is pseudonymous in authorship. The writer presents his message under the name of some great character in history—Enoch, Moses, Daniel. There was in this no thought of deception any more than when Browning puts his interpretation of Christianity into John's mouth in "A Death in the Desert." It follows that the apocalyptist's material is compiled from preceding writers and is not original.

It is characterized by the use of striking and highly wrought imagery; strange and unnatural figures seen in dreams and visions, and having mysterious value as symbols. In Revelation we find figures common to Zephaniah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Zechariah, and to the extra-canonical apocalypses. The reason for the choice of these strange and mysterious symbols was due to the fact that the apocalypses were always written in times of oppression, and these figures bear a significance understandable by those Jews who read; but unintelligible to any oppressors who might read them. Hence the apocalypse is in a sense a cryptogram.

It is predictive in character but the predictions are always of the immediate and not the distant future. Thus the predictions of the Book of Daniel all centre on the overthrow of the Syrian oppressors of Israel; a prediction which was almost immediately fulfilled. Revelation

is a similar prediction of the downfall of Rome and its imminent overthrow. In making this main purpose clear the apocalyptic writer shows the judgments of God upon past enemies of God's people, and from this argues that the present enemy shall likewise be overthrown.

Its method is that of contrast. The present and the coming age are always drawn in contrast, the evils of the present era are depicted in the darkest, and the glories of the future in the most brilliant colors. Good and evil are always at war, and the apocalypses paint the terror of the struggle and the ultimate triumph of good in the most vivid manner conceivable.

Its theology conceives of this struggle between good and evil as a vast warfare of angelic and demoniac hosts, and the ultimate triumph of good as due to a spectacular and dramatic supernatural interposition of God in the affairs of men. The Hebrew "Day of the Lord" became the Christian conception of the "Coming of Christ," as Christianity in this and succeeding apocalypses expressed its hope for a new age and for deliverance. Such a hope of deliverance from enemies and a triumph of the oppressed became intense in times of long-protracted oppression, and was fanned into a flame in times of persecution. It was not strange that it became a dream of a sudden, complete change, swift and catastrophic, by divine interposition from on high. It is such a deep desire for deliverance as is met, during the severest of all persecutions of the church, by this book, with its prediction of an immediate overthrow of "Babylon the Great," which every Christian who read it knew spelled Rome.

(3) Its Purpose.

The purpose of Revelation has thus been already implied. It was a message of comfort to the persecuted church of Christ suffering at Rome's hands, bidding the Christians believe that the day of divine judgment of Rome was at hand, when Rome should fall before the

kingdom of Christ. And so elaborate and highly imaginative is this picture of the coming new age (chaps. 19–22) that it has seemed to the Christian consciousness, ever since Bernard of Cluny wrote "Jerusalem the Golden," to be a picture of heaven.

(4) Its Interpretation.

It is safe to say that no book has ever had more varied and divergent interpretation than Revelation. The strange and mysterious symbolism, the unusual language have all contributed to this confusion of interpretation. The earlier part of the book (chaps. 1–3) is simple and easy to understand; but the rest of the book is full of dark visions and strange prophecies. There are three main schools of interpreters:

The *Prætorist*, which believes the prophecies refer to events now long past—the overthrow of Jerusalem and Rome—and that the book was written for its own times, and so its prophecies have no further application.

The *Continuous*, which holds that the book is a series of prophecies, some of which have been fulfilled, some of which are in process of fulfilment, and some of which remain to be fulfilled.

The *Futurist*, which holds that all the prophecies are only to be fulfilled either immediately before or after the second coming of Christ, the so-called premillennial and postmillennial interpretations.

The modern school of biblical interpretation has universally accepted the first of these interpretations, the prætorist or contemporary-historical, and holds that the book was written for the generation in which it was produced and that its purpose was to comfort the Christians by the prediction of the overthrow of Rome, and that in this event the predictive elements of Revelation found fulfilment.

The conservative school of interpreters is divided between the second and the third interpretations, by far the

larger part accepting the second interpretation. Thus viewed, Revelation is a treasury of predictions which may be applied to contemporary history, as was done in the World War, where Germany and the Kaiser were found in the mysterious figures and occult numbers of Revelation.

This strange book, thus interpreted as a perpetually contemporary panorama of the true meaning of life and history, has been productive of an apocalypticism that on the whole is not helpful to Christianity. Its dark picture of an ever-increasing corruption of human life, buttressed by exclusive emphasis on its existent evils, leads to a hopelessness of human betterment that is entirely out of harmony with Jesus' teaching of a growing kingdom of God on earth. Its depiction of the only hope of human salvation in a catastrophic divine intervention rather than by the slow process of the contagion of Christian character is likewise widely different from the salvation of the gospels. It has tended to fanaticism and unreality in the personal religious life. With all the values of faith and consecration it has engendered, it has yet greatly distorted what seems to be the natural interpretation of the way of life as Jesus taught it. Thus literally interpreted, Revelation has exercised a fatal fascination over human minds which ultimates in abnormal types of Christian experience.

That interpretation of the book which frankly holds that the chiefest value of Revelation was in its message to the day in which it was written, and that its imagery and symbolism are not to be applied to events of our own day, keeps not only more nearly to the original purpose of the book but produces a saner and more truly Christian viewpoint of life and history.

(5) The Values of Revelation.

But this does not mean that the book has no real values. Its vivid, dramatic, pictorial presentation of the eternal warfare between good and evil; its exaltation of Christ and its sublime faith in the final triumph of his rule; its

wondrous depiction of the glories of that realized Kingdom, the City of God come down to earth—these are of eternal value to the Christian consciousness. For we must ever look away from the old Jerusalem of material substance to the new Jerusalem of the spirit, and it is still true that

> "The old order changeth, giving place to new
> And God fulfils himself in many ways."

As a piece of literature the book is matchless. For a fine depiction of its literary qualities as a Rhapsody (or oratorio without music) see Professor Moulton's "Modern Readers' Bible," whose analysis of the book follows:

Prologue: "To the Seven Churches" (chaps. 1–3).
The Sealed Book and the Lamb (chaps. 4–5).
The Powers of Judgment (6:11–8:4).
The Seven Trumpets (8:5–11:18).
Salvation (11:19–15:14).
The Seven Golden Bowls (15:15–19:4.)
The Word of God and the Thrones of Judgment (19:5–20:15).
The New Jerusalem (21:1–22:9).
Epilogue (22:10–21).

CHAPTER XXI

THE BIBLE AND THE MIDDLE AGES

I. The Bible of the Early Christian Centuries

(1) The Bible of Jesus.

By the time of Jesus, while the Old Testament had not been as yet officially approved (which official act occurred in 90 A. D.), yet for all practical purposes the entire Old Testament as we know it was in general use in his day. There were two collections of the Old Testament books in use among the Jews. The first was the Palestinian Collection. This was made in Palestine during the first century B. C., and was in Hebrew. As used in the synagogues it required two readers, one who read it in the Hebrew, and a second, the "methurgeman" or interpreter, to translate it into the popular Palestinian vernacular, the Aramaic. The second was the Alexandrian Collection, better known as the Septuagint, which was in Greek and which included, in addition to our present Old Testament books, the Old Testament Apocrypha. Both these collections were in common use in Palestine in Jesus' day, and the writers of the gospels quote almost equally from them both. Whether Jesus knew the Septuagint as well as the Hebrew version is a question impossible to answer with certainty. But of one thing we are sure, his very thorough familiarity with the Old Testament Scriptures. There are sixty-one direct quotations, forty-three allusions to Old Testament passages, and nineteen references to Old Testament events in his words. Some of those latter refer to events so far outside the main path of Hebrew history as to reveal the very thorough knowledge of Israel's past possessed by Jesus. Of the thirty-nine books of the Old Testament, fourteen are directly quoted by Jesus, the most fre-

quent quotations being those from the Psalms and Isaiah. All this shows that the Old Testament as we know it was to him a book beloved and profoundly studied.

(2) The Bible of the Apostolic Church.

When the Christian church began its career its services included a Scripture reading, which was at first entirely confined to the Old Testament Scriptures. Then as time went on the epistles of Paul came to be cherished in the churches to which they were addressed, and selections from them to be read at the public services, and about 90 A. D. at Ephesus a collection of his letters was made. Also, as we have seen, the four gospels gradually came into general use by the churches. And that the two, gospels and epistles, were beginning to be regarded as Scripture is proved by Marcion's attempt (140 A. D.) to replace the Jewish Scriptures by these Christian writings in the church which he founded. Thus in this very simple and natural way the New Testament began to take its place in Christian hearts.

II. The Formation of the Canon

(1) The New Testament Apocrypha.

There grew up in the Christian church during the next two hundred years a large number of books—gospels, acts, epistles, and apocalypses—corresponding to the four types of literature in our present New Testament. They were never included, as were the Old Testament Apocrypha, in any edition of the New Testament, but formed a kind of fringe about the New Testament, and certain of these books at various times and in various localities were considered a part of our Bible. These books may be grouped as follows:

GOSPELS

(*a*) Gospels of the synoptic type, embodying early traditions of some degree of historical value. They are:

The Gospel According to the Hebrews, the Gospel According to the Egyptians, the Gospel of Peter.

(*b*) Heretical Gospels, written to establish certain peculiar conceptions of the person of Christ. These are:

The Gospel of Thomas, The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, The Gospel of Philip. The writers use the names of the apostles to give authority to their works.

(*c*) Supplemental Gospels, intended to throw light on the obscure parts of Jesus' life. These are:

The Gospel of the Childhood, The Nativity of Mary, The Protevangelium, The History of Joseph, The Departure of Mary, The Gospel of Nicodemus.

EPISTLES

These are: The Epistles of Ignatius, The Epistle of Barnabas, The Epistles of Clement, The Epistle of Polycarp. They bear the names of famous Christian leaders of the second century.

ACTS

These are: The Acts of Peter, The Acts of Andrew, The Acts of John, and, best known of all, The Acts of Paul and Thekla, the life of a famous woman martyr of Iconium.

APOCALYPSES

These are: The Apocalypses of Peter, The Sibylline Oracles, and, most famous of all, The Shepherd of Hermas. This last book was a series of visions of Hermas, a Christian prophet of Rome, who dressed in shepherd's garb.

Of these many writings the most were of no very great value either historically or spiritually. There were three that were, however, much prized by the early church, and by nearly all the churches were for a long time regarded as of equal value with our present New Testament books—The Shepherd of Hermas, The Epistle of Barnabas, The

Epistles of Clement. Various churches used as Scripture others of this group of books. It is obvious that they were a debatable ground in which discussion took place as to their merits, and that even by the end of the fourth century no final decision was made as to their acceptance or rejection as Scripture.

(2) The Variable Canon.

The canon (or "rule") is the technical term for the official list of books that constitute our Bible. Many recent discoveries have given us a fairly complete record of the decisions of certain individual leaders and scholars, and of certain groups of churches, as to what constituted Scripture. These lists, now in our hands, reveal the fact that from 150 to 400 A. D. the canon was variable, each list giving a different set of books. Some included one or another book or books of the Old and New Testament Apocrypha; and concerning the General Epistles and Revelation there was much difference of opinion. The gospels, the Pauline epistles, and Acts were generally accepted. But regarding the definite list of books which should be considered Scripture there was utter confusion. Most of the lists are drawn from the writings of individual Christian leaders and vary widely from each other. In the Eastern church, which centred in Alexandria, we have the lists of Clement (200), Origen (225), Eusebius (325), Athanasius (367), Amphilocus of Iconium (394), and Chrysostom (390) and Gregory of Nazianzus (390). No two of these lists are identical. In the Western church, at Rome, we have the lists of Augustine (380) and Jerome (394). In the Syrian church we have the list of the Sinaitic manuscript (350), and the Peshitto or Syriac Version (425).

In general it may be said that about 350 A. D. we have evidence from the foregoing that there were three Bibles in use by the Christian church: (1) the Bible of the Syrian church, which rejected II Peter, Jude, and Reve-

lation; (2) the Bible of the Eastern church, which rejected the Book of Revelation; (3) the Bible of the Western church, which rejected Hebrews.

(3) The Councils and the Bible.

The next half-century is often called the Age of the Councils, and it is often said that these great church gatherings finally and officially settled the contents of our Bible and completed the canon. This is, however, not true. The Council of Laodicea of the Eastern church (363) forbade the reading of uncanonical books and gave a list of the canonical books. It left out Revelation, and included Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah. The Council of Carthage of the Western church (397) laid down our present Old and New Testament, plus the Old Testament Apocrypha. The Third Council of Carthage in 419 reaffirmed this list. So it will be seen that unanimity had not yet been reached.

It was really the influence of Jerome, 400 A. D., that led to the general acceptance of our present sixty-six books as canonical. For in his great version, the Vulgate (the famous Latin translation which became the Bible of the church for centuries), he separated the Apocrypha from the Old Testament as of lesser value and settled on the present books of the New Testament. It was the great popularity of the Vulgate which, rather than any official action, brought the sixty-six books of our present Bible into general use and, virtually, for a time ended the discussion of the canon. But the matter was *never finally or officially settled* and, as we shall see later, was reopened later by scholars in the Reformation period.

(4) The Three Bibles.

During the following centuries and down into the Middle Ages three Bibles were in use by the Christian churches: the Latin Bible, the Vulgate, whose books were identical with our present Bible; the Syriac Bible, with only twenty-two books in the New Testament (omitting II

Peter, II and III John, Jude, and Revelation); the Ethiopic Bible, containing thirty-five New Testament books, our present twenty-seven plus eight apocryphal books. *Even to-day five Bibles*, no two exactly alike, are in use by Christendom—the Bibles of the Roman Catholic, Protestant, Armenian, Coptic, and Syrian churches.

(5) The Making of the Canon.

Amid all this confusion one fact emerges, that the final choice of our present Bible was, with all its differing expressions, really based upon a survival of the fittest. When one compares the canonical with the extracanonical literature one is forced to conclude that with certain rare exceptions that religious literature which was finally excluded from our Bible is on a lower plane of moral and spiritual value. It was really no individual opinion or official act, but rather the common religious consciousness of Christendom, that finally completed the canon.

(6) The Bible Within the Bible.

And unconsciously the Christian consciousness is still exercising this same evaluation upon the Bible as we have it. All of it does not make the same appeal or hold for us the same value. We ourselves select and choose out of that very voluminous literature between its covers what finds and inspires us. And this is for all practical purposes our Bible. "The final canon of any Christian," says Doctor Willett truly, "is the group of books he uses as the word of God. We are makers of our own individual canons."

III. The Translations and Versions

Very early in Christian history, as Christianity was carried over the world, the missionaries of the church found the need of its translation from the Hebrew and Greek into the various languages of the Roman world. The most important of these translations were the Syriac Versions made in the early part, and the Itala (or Old

Latin) Version in the latter part, of the second century; the Gothic translation in the fourth century made by Ulfilas, the apostle to the Goths; the Armenian Version made for the Armenian communities of Asia Minor, and the Ethiopic for the Abyssinian Christians in the fifth century; the Coptic Version for the Christians of Egypt in the sixth century; the Arabic Version for the Christians of Syria and Egypt who were overwhelmed by Arab conquests in the seventh century; and the Slavonic Version for the Bulgars, and the Anglo-Saxon Version, both made in the eighth century.

These versions are of especial value because they are sources of information as to the text of our Bible in the period from the second to the eighth Christian century. Some of them are even older than our Greek manuscripts, and so have been of much value to scholarship.

IV. The Catholic Church and the Bible

As we pass on into the Middle Ages we find that these versions were more and more frowned upon by the clergy and the church, to whom the Latin Bible of Jerome became ever more sacred. This meant, of course, that the Bible was only read and understood by the learned and the clergy, and the common people ceased to know anything about it. And even the scholars were no longer concerned with those problems of authorship or canonicity such as had so greatly concerned the thought of earlier Christian scholars. The Bible had become fixed and its contents were accepted without question. Even the very languages in which the Bible had been written, the Hebrew and Greek, were lost and forgotten to that mediæval world. Scholarly interest in the Bible was at a standstill. And to show its ultimate state of mind, when, after the Renaissance, Cardinal Ximenes in his "Complutensian Polyglot" published the Greek and Hebrew Old Testaments in parallel columns, he set the Latin Vulgate text between them,

remarking in his preface that it was "like Jesus between two thieves." Thus we see that the Bible was more and more restricted in its influence and withdrawn from contact with the life of the common man, who knew it only through the excerpts of it in Latin that he heard in the services of the church.

The Catholic Church developed during this era its distinctive doctrine of the Bible, which is, in substance, that it is the church which gives the Bible its authority. Its infallible divine authority makes the church the guarantor of inspiration and the custodian of interpretation. This was commonly understood all through the Middle Ages, as it is commonly accepted by the average Roman Catholic to-day. And yet, as we have seen, the church had never pronounced any final decision as to what books were canonical, it had simply followed the line of least resistance by the tacit acceptance along with Jerome's Latin Version of the list of books that were to him authoritative. This Latin Bible had, as we saw, taken on a sacrosanct character by its long use and universal veneration. But when this position was challenged by the Reformers, then, finally, the church called a council, which was invested with full power upon the matter of the Bible, the Council of Trent (1546), and *for the first time in Christian history the books of the canon were officially determined by the church.* The list which they approved included our sixty-six books plus eleven books of the Apocrypha. And the decree concludes with an anathema on all who shall not receive these books "as they have been wont to be read in the church and as they are contained in the Old Vulgate Latin edition." So, finally, the Catholic Church settled for all time for its followers the Bible of Catholicism. The church made the Bible, not the Bible the church. To quote one of its writers: "The Catholic Church which produced the Bible is the only genuinely authorized interpreter thereof. The Catholic Church got along without the Bible for

nearly 400 years, it could get along again if every book of the Bible were blotted out from the entire world."

V. The Bible and Mediæval Culture

As we survey mediæval civilization we find that the church was central, and under such circumstances, even restricted as it was by the isolation from common life in the Latin tongue in its largest influence, yet the Bible was a potent factor in mediævalism. It reveals itself in the culture of that period.

The universe was to the mediæval mind a small, limited, ordered affair, a veritable "bandbox universe," whose description is most clearly found in the pages of Dante. This mediæval universe has been graphically depicted for us by Anatole France:

"We have some trouble in picturing the state of mind of a man of olden times who firmly believed that the earth was the centre of the world and that all the stars turned round it. He felt under his feet the souls of the damned writhing in flames, and perhaps he had seen with his own eyes and smelled with his own nostrils the sulphurous fumes of Hell escaping from some fissures in the rocks. Lifting his head, he contemplated the twelve spheres: that of the elements, containing the air and fire; then the spheres of the Moon, of Mercury, of Venus, which Dante visited on Good Friday of the year 1300; then those of the Sun, of Mars, of Jupiter, and of Saturn; then the incorruptible firmament from which the stars were hung like lamps. Beyond, his mind's eye discerned the Ninth Heaven to which saints were rapt, the Primum Mobile or Crystalline, and finally the Empyrean, abode of the blessed, toward which, he firmly hoped, after his death two angels robed in white would bear away, as it were a little child, his soul washed in baptism and perfumed with the oil of the last sacraments. In those days God had no other chil-

dren than men, and all his creation was ordered in a fashion at once childlike and poetic, like an immense cathedral. Thus imagined, the universe was so simple that it was represented in its entirety with its true shape and motions in certain great painted clocks run by machinery."

The earth itself was conceived of as a great flat round plane, at whose centre was Jerusalem; while somewhere in the East lay the Garden of Eden, surrounded by a wall of fire. Surrounding the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa was the vast expanse of the ocean. All these details are revealed in the quaint maps of this period.

It is obvious that what we have in these conceptions is a mixture of biblical ideas and the natural conclusions of the common man seeing things as they appear and accepting them in this fashion.

Nothing to his mind was too strange and incredible to be believed. All about him were a myriad of beings clothed with supernatural power, angelic and demoniac, and so signs and wonders were believed to be constantly performed. All the unknown was full of mystery, and returned travellers like Bartholomew and Marco Polo could find credence for the most marvellous tales. The mediæval man lived in a world of miracle.

The mediæval idea of history was a strange commingling of biblical, Greco-Roman, apocryphal, and legendary elements, constructed with slight regard to chronology and arranged in seven millenniums, after the pattern of the seven days of Genesis.

The mediæval attitude toward science was very much like that in Old Testament times, with no consciousness of causality or law, but a naïve acceptance of a world full of miracles. So we find the utmost credulity and superstition as men looked out upon nature and life.

The mediæval art was almost exclusively biblical in its origin, later commingled with motives from apocryphal sources and lives of the saints. Bible stories, Bible scenes,

Bible symbols—in mural paintings, in glass, in statuary —filled the mediæval churches everywhere.

Poetry was largely rhymed Bible annals or paraphrases of Bible passages in rhyme.

Drama also was revived after long ages of oblivion by the church in the miracle plays, performed at first within the church, in which the themes were almost exclusively biblical. They were later developed into cycles and presented by guilds to immense audiences and probably did more than any other factor to popularize knowledge of the elemental facts of Bible history.

Law gave a large place to the Bible. Not only did Alfred prefix the Ten Commandments to his laws, but the German law codes had prefaces which based their law upon the divine laws of the Bible.

The mediæval kings based their ideas of their divine right upon the theocratic theory of the Old Testament, and the feudal lords defended their rule from the patriarchal stories and insisted that slavery and serfdom were sanctioned by the Bible.

And yet the real influence of the Bible was limited because it was indirect. Its main stories and passages were familiar, but its real teachings, its moral and spiritual values were shut away from the common people, and mediated to them only through the perversions and misinterpretations of biblical doctrines offered by the leaders of the church.

VI. The Monasteries and the Bible

One institution of mediævalism performed a real service to our Bible—the monastery. Here, from the days of Charlemagne onward, the monks copied with meticulous care the words of Scripture, and manuscript after manuscript came from their skilled fingers, adorned with beautiful pictures and illuminations. They are veritable works of art, these old mediæval manuscripts, labors of love of

pious souls who oftentimes devoted a lifetime to their production. And it is to their preservation and perpetuation by these monasteries that we owe the fact that we have any Bible to-day. In those dark days of violence and ignorance the monasteries were the stronghold in which the Bible was preserved for future generations.

These manuscripts are nearly all copies of the Latin Vulgate. There are literally thousands of copies now extant. And while they possess no very great value for scholarship, since they are but copies of one original, they do bear witness to the veneration in which the book was held by sincere souls in this mediæval era.

CHAPTER XXII

THE REFORMATION AND THE BIBLE

I. The Renaissance and the Bible

We come now to that great period of history known as the Reformation, and through it as a portal we emerge out of the mediæval into the modern world. It began with that amazing movement known as the Renaissance, which brought again out of the dust of ages into the mind of Europe the great classical literature of Greece and Rome. The Renaissance was born in Italy in the fifteenth century, and had there its most brilliant period in the end of that century and the opening era of the sixteenth. From there it spread to England and Germany. Its result was to make the desire for the "New Learning" of the Hebrew and Greek a flaming passion in Europe. And this awakened interest was largely directed toward the Bible. Reuchlin became the foremost Hebrew scholar, and students flocked to him to learn. Melanchthon drew equally eager searchers after the fountains of Greek culture. And the most famous of the scholars of this "New Learning" was Erasmus, whose Greek New Testament (1516) challenged the traditional biblical ideas and raised questions that had been forgotten for a thousand years. And from that day onward men were not content to accept the Latin Vulgate, as they had done for centuries, but with grammar and lexicon at their side they pored over the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament. There was thus a vast and far-reaching revival of criticism of the Bible, with the insistent questions that followed to challenge all the established traditions and practices of the church.

The result was that earthquake epoch we call the Protestant Reformation.

II. The Reformers and the Bible

Passing over all lesser figures, we shall consider only the two greatest leaders of this movement, Luther and Calvin, and their respective attitudes toward the Bible.

(1) Luther and the Bible.

When Martin Luther began to think his way through to those convictions by which he shook Europe to its foundations, he was confronted at the outset by the question of the Bible and its authority. The church had taught that its authority was that which conferred upon the Bible its right to be called the Word of God. Breaking with and denying the authority of the church, he was forced to find some other reason for his faith, and found it in the Bible itself. This was to him the supreme authority in the Christian religion; the one rule of faith and life; the one standard of conduct and the norm of human institutions and laws.

He refused to accept the church's list of books in the Vulgate as final. So in the translation of the Bible which he made into the German tongue, he puts four New Testament books at the end by themselves—Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation. Concerning Hebrews he said: "It cannot in many respects be compared to the Apostolic Epistles." James he called "a right strawy epistle," and denied its apostolic authorship. Of Revelation he says: "My spirit cannot accommodate itself to this book, the reason being I do not think Christ is taught therein." And he defends his judgment on the book in these words: "This indeed is the right touchstone to test all the books, to see if they present to us Christ. That which does not teach Christ is not apostolic, though St. Peter and St. Paul teach it. That which preaches Christ is apostolic, although

Judas, Annas, Pilate, and Herod teach it." And his comments on other books are equally drastic and candid: "The books of Kings are one hundred thousand paces ahead of Chronicles"; "Genesis seems not to have been written by Moses, is hard to read, and its first five chapters are not thoroughly understood"; "Solomon himself did not write the book of Ecclesiastes, but it was produced at the time of the Maccabees"; "The Proverbs of Solomon were collected by some one else." Such a free and vigorous criticism of the Books of the Bible was not only startling to his own generation, it is equally startling to the orthodox mind of to-day.

And the proof of the validity of Scripture to rule men's minds and hearts was to him found in its self-evidencing values. In his controversy with Eck, the champion of Catholicism, he says: "The church cannot give more authority or force to a book than it has in itself. A council cannot make that to be Scripture which in its own nature is not Scripture." And elsewhere he says: "Thou must not place thy decision on the Pope or any other, thou must be so skilful that thou canst say, 'God says this,' and boldly say 'That is God's word, on that will I risk body and life.' And who decides thee? No man, but only the truth which is so perfectly certain that nobody can deny it."

(2) Calvin and the Bible.

There is a great difference in temperament and character between Luther and John Calvin. The latter was more or less ascetic in temper, a keen and merciless logician, and conservative and legal in his point of view. Luther, on the contrary, was governed by emotion rather than reason, trusted shrewd common sense rather than logic, was warmly human in temper and radical and prophetic in spirit. So when we examine Calvin's attitude toward the Bible we need not be surprised to find it in many ways different from that of Luther. His is a more literal view than Luther's, and to him the Old Testament

law was of equal value with the Gospel. His most conspicuous divergence is that he makes Scripture subordinate to the dogmas of traditional Protestant theology, and that he makes it fit into the scheme of thinking he had developed from Augustine's theology. And while he has doubts regarding the place in the Bible of James, Jude, and II Peter, there is no such bold and vigorous critical attitude toward these books as Luther displays.

But with all these differences they agree in their essential point of view regarding Scripture. This was stated by Calvin in these strong words: "For as God alone is sufficient witness of himself in his own word, so also the word will never gain credit in the hearts of men until it be confirmed by the internal testimony of the Spirit." And again: "Those persons betray great folly who wish it to be demonstrated to infidels that the Scripture is the word of God, which cannot be known without faith."

III. The Basic Principle of the Reformation

This brief survey of the attitude of these two creators of the Reformation at Wittenberg and Geneva makes plain that which was the great guiding principle of the Reformation and the foundation-stone of Protestantism, viz.: *That the soul needs no external authority to make certain God and the truth; but that God and the truth have power to verify themselves directly to the soul.* This, then, was what essential Protestantism has always stood for, *the direct access of the soul to God.*

As applied to Scripture, this principle means that *the individual conscience responds to the self-evidencing voice of God in Scripture.* The Roman Catholic accepts Scripture as the word of God because the church tells him it is the word of God; the Protestant should accept it as the word of God because God speaks through it to him and so convinces him that it is God's word. So unless these

books bring to our souls evidence that they are from God, we cannot have faith in them as divinely inspired, we only give intellectual assent to the dogma of an external authority. Such was the position of the great Reformers—that the proof of Scripture as God's word was the response of the individual conscience to its truth. In other words, the proof of the inspiration of the Bible is that it inspires.

Such was the bold stand of the founders of Protestantism regarding Scripture. It gave thus to every individual man the right to examine Scripture for himself, critically, thoroughly, completely; and to accept it only as it brought evidence of its divine origin to his soul by its inspiring power. It did not demand of any man that he accept the sixty-six canonical books and every word therein with a blind and unreasoning credulity. And it is surely a pity that this *basic principle of Protestantism* was so soon obscured and forgotten. Had it been retained it would have prevented a thousand and one follies and sins of the church—its sectarianism, its opposition to science, its present-day fundamentalist movement. How far we have departed from this strong position of the Reformers is evidenced by the shock which Luther's bold and audacious words about the Bible bring to our present-day Christian consciousness.

IV. The Exclusion of the Apocrypha

The Bible as we use it to-day is a heritage from the Reformation; and its list of sixty-six books excludes from the canon the Apocrypha.

This condition has, however, come out of a long period of variation of opinion from acceptance to rejection; and it is of interest to briefly review this process.

In 1546 the Council of Trent officially determined the books of the Bible for the Roman Catholic Church. It contains, in addition to those books now printed in the Authorized Version, eleven books of the Apocrypha. The

earliest English translation, that of Wycliffe, retained the Apocrypha; as did also Tyndale, Coverdale, Luther, and the Bishop's Bible. In these editions the books are sometimes referred to as not on quite the same plane as the rest, in others they are accepted as equal. In the earliest edition of the Authorized Version the Apocrypha were included, but about 1629 there began to appear editions in which they were omitted. This was largely due to the opposition of the Puritans to their use, and was finally clearly expressed in the Westminster Confession of 1648: "The books commonly called Apocrypha are no part of the canon of Scripture." But even after this they were printed as part of the Bible, and it was not until 1827, after two years' vigorous discussion, that the British and Foreign Bible Society finally excluded the Apocrypha from all its editions of the Bible.

No very clear basis has ever been found for this exclusion, as it is obvious that great Christian scholars have differed over this question even down to modern times. The exclusion has been partly due to traditional disparagement of these writings; to prejudice on doctrinal grounds at certain periods of controversy; and most of all to the feeling that they do not stand on the same plane of moral and spiritual value as our Bible books. This last reason, which is the one most popularly believed, namely, that the Apocrypha are inferior to our present Bible, is only partially true. Some of the books are as valuable as anything in our Bible, like I Maccabees and Ecclesiasticus; others, like Baruch and Esdras, are not. So, while they will probably never be included in any future editions of our Bible, the wisest and most consistent attitude is that long ago taken by Luther, when he evaluated them on the basis of their moral and spiritual teaching, admitting some and excluding others. The exclusion of the collection as a whole, because it is inferior or valueless, is untenable.

V. The Bible and the Protestant Creeds

In the early days of Protestantism, when the controversy with Rome was active, this great principle of the Reformation just reviewed maintained itself, and one evidence for that is found in the great creeds of the Reformed churches. It is also noteworthy that the earliest creeds—the Augsburg Confession of the German Church, and the First Helvetic Confession of the Swiss Church—contain no article upon the Bible at all, showing that these churches had not even begun to dogmatize upon this question.

French Protestantism created as its creed the Gallican Confession of 1559. It comments on Scripture as follows: "We know these books to be canonical, not so much by the common accord and consent of the church as by the inward illumination of the Holy Spirit which enables us to distinguish them from other ecclesiastical books."

The Belgic Confession of 1561 reads as follows: "God inspired the writers of Scripture and speaks through them to us. The interpretation is to be made from the spirit as well as the language of Scripture. The canonical books are to be believed, not so much because the church receives and approves them as such, but because the Holy Spirit witnesses in our hearts that they are from God, whereof they carry the evidence in themselves."

The English Protestant movement had two branches —the Established or Anglican and the Puritan church. The Episcopal Creed is gathered up in the Thirty-nine Articles (1563) and they say this concerning Scripture: "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation. In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand the canonical books of the Old and New Testament." The sixty-six books of our Bible are then enumerated.

This was representative of an intermediate position between the Reformers and Catholicism.

Less conservative was the Westminster Confession of Faith (1647), which is the basic creed of Presbyterianism, and which says: "The authority of Holy Scripture depends wholly upon God, the author thereof. Our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof is from the Holy Spirit bearing witness to the Word in our hearts. All things necessary for salvation, faith, and life are expressly set down in Scripture, unto which nothing is to be added at any time. Nevertheless, we acknowledge the inward illumination of the Spirit of God as necessary to the understanding of such things as are revealed in the word."

It is surely obvious that the great historic creeds of Protestantism express essentially this basic Protestant principle, that the truth of the Bible does not rest upon churchly authority, but upon its own intrinsic value.

VI. The Dogma of the Infallible Book

Early in the seventeenth century there began a period of theological warfare not only with Catholicism, which answered with its Counter-Reformation, but within Protestantism itself. Intensity, rancor, intolerance, bigotry, dogmatism, were in evidence everywhere. And the focal point of this theological controversy was the divergent view of authority between Catholicism and Protestantism. The Roman Catholic Church said, "The church is the final authority," and in the Council of Trent made plain the application of this idea to Scripture. In opposition to this, Protestantism, having no such external authority, began to endow the Scriptures with the infallibility and absolute perfection that the Roman Catholic Church claimed for itself. All differences in the Bible, all degrees of revelation and inspiration were obliterated; and it was forged into a unity, a book, not a collection of books; all

of a piece and all equally inspired and authoritative. The Reformers had recognized it as only the record of the revelation of God, and not the whole revelation at that; but this post-Reformation period made it the revelation itself, final, complete, perfect. And so finally the idea came to be universally held by the Protestantism of the eighteenth century, and by it passed on to us, that the Bible is a letter-perfect, inerrant, infallible book, every word in it being God's divine and errorless word, and the Book became idolized and worshipped. This is, however, but a Protestant form of the Catholic doctrine, for its dogma of an infallible book is based not upon biblical evidence but upon the teaching of the Protestant church. Such is the doctrine of the Bible so largely held by Protestant churches generally, and by them taught as the "cover-to-cover" theory of Scripture; born in the post-Reformation period, and resulting in the Fundamentalism of to-day, with its dogma of verbal inspiration as expressed in such a creed as that of the Los Angeles Bible Institute: "The Bible is the word of God, a supernaturally given revelation from God himself. The Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are without error or misstatement in their moral and spiritual teachings, or record of historical fact. They are without error of any kind."

Contrast with this the pungent comment of Luther on the story of Jonah: "It is exaggerated beyond the possibility of belief. If it were not in the Bible I should laugh at its lies. For how could Jonah remain in the belly of the whale three days when he would have been digested in three hours? That's childish!"

Such a comparison makes it obvious how far the post-Reformation doctrine of the Scripture, which is assumed by its modern exponents to be true Protestantism, differs from the attitude of the Father of Protestantism.

It was thus out of the controversies and theological

battles of the seventeenth century that this dogma of an infallible Book came to lay its blight on Protestantism. The need of our modern world is to recall us to the position of the Reformation—that the Bible is God's word not because the Protestant Church says so, but because it bears its own evidence to the human soul.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ROMANCE OF OUR ENGLISH BIBLE

By common consent all agree that no single spiritual influence in our English-speaking world can be compared to that exerted by our English Bible. It has written itself into all our literature, it has sung itself into all our songs, it has become a part of our language and life. Bowen says: "Its study has done more than any other single cause to color and direct the whole course of modern civilization." And the story of its gradual creation through the centuries is one of the most entrancing romances conceivable, and this story we shall now review.

I. The Conversion of England to Christianity

In the fifth century Christianity came into Ireland in the person of Succat, a swineherd, who converted Ireland from Druidism to the Christian faith, and who was later canonized by the church under the name of St. Patrick. In the year 596, so the legend runs, Pope Gregory I was seated in the slave-market at Rome and saw one of the inhabitants of Britain exposed for sale. The fair hair and blue eyes, the youthful beauty of this slave, led the Pontiff to exclaim: "Non Angli, sed angeli"—"They are not Angles, but angels." This incident is traditionally held to be the incentive for his sending Augustine the next year to England with a band of workers who rapidly converted the Anglo-Saxon to Christianity. But culture was rare and the Christian Scripture was practically unknown. But in 670 A. D., Cædmon, a monk of Whitby, put into poetic paraphrase some chapters of Genesis, the first attempt to translate the Bible into the tongue of

England. A little later, Aldhelm, bishop of Sherbourne, prepared a version of the Psalms. Then at Yarrow-on-the-Tyne the greatest Christian scholar of that age, the Venerable Bede, completed a translation of the Gospel of John (735 A. D.). King Alfred also did much to promote Christianity and during his lifetime translated the Psalms into Anglo-Saxon and prefaced his laws of the kingdom by a version of the Ten Commandments. Then in the tenth century the gospels were translated into Anglo-Saxon by Elfric of Peterborough.

II. The Making of the English Language

The Norman Conquest (1080) marked the end of the Anglo-Saxon customs and language, and the next centuries saw the fusion of the Norman-French and Anglo-Saxon to form a new language—English. For, cut off from the continental French in their new island home, the Normans soon found themselves moving toward this new speech which combined the two languages. The creators of this early English were the two great authors Chaucer and Wycliffe. And to realize how greatly it differed from our modern English we have only to read their pages. Then came the Middle English period, with Langland in his "Piers Plowman," Malory, and Tyndale. Finally, in the Elizabethan Era, was evolved our modern English language.

The changes that were wrought by this process were in the direction of simplification, by the loss of inflection and of gender. This last is the bane of all students of French and German, and in English it has been eliminated so that we say, "My wife and children"; where the French say: "Ma femme et mes enfants." As finally completed, English was a composite language made up of Latin, Greek, French, Celtic, Scandinavian, and Saxon words. But the predominant elements are the Latinized (or Romance) and the Anglo-Saxon derivatives. The ten-

dency in our day is toward the use of the Anglo-Saxon words, and to illustrate this, place side by side one of Webster's orations and Wilson's state papers.

And the English language proved itself a marvellously perfect vehicle for the translation of the originals of the Bible, especially the Hebrew. Like the Hebrew it was simple, concrete, vivid, and rhythmic.

III. The Reformation and the Bible Translations

As we have already seen, the Renaissance, with its Humanism and New Learning, and the Reformation, with its intellectual and spiritual emancipation, made much use of the Bible as a medium for the spread of truth. Luther created the great German Bible. In France the Waldensians translated the Vulgate into their language. John Huss in Bohemia created the Czech Bible. And finally Wycliffe in England saw that the Reformation could not prevail until the people had the Bible in their own tongue.

IV. John Wycliffe

Wycliffe was an Oxford man and a scholar of distinction. And early in life he set himself to give his people the Bible in the English language. To this task he gave the most of his life and completed it in manuscript form in 1384. There was a storm of opposition and hatred from the church, but strangely enough he died a peaceful death at his parish church at Lutterworth. But after his death in 1428 his bones were exhumed, burned to ashes, and cast upon the Avon, and this gave rise to Fuller's famous lines:

> "The Avon to the Severn runs,
> The Severn to the sea:
> And Wycliffe's dust shall spread abroad
> Wide as the waters be."

His translation was made from the Vulgate, and, being in manuscript form, but a comparatively few copies were made. There are 170 now extant. He had a large influence as the "Morning Star of the Reformation," and through his travelling preachers, called "Lollards," whom he sent out through the country, he did much to awaken interest in the Bible and religion.

V. The Invention of Printing

This we have already discussed in Chapter III. It is noteworthy that the first book issued by Gutenberg was a copy in parchment of the Bible—the Latin Vulgate, printed in two columns and illuminated by hand, which took three years to print (1453–56), and of which forty copies are extant. And by 1500, as a result of the invention of printing, there were at least a hundred editions of the Latin Bible.

VI. William Tyndale

About a hundred years after the death of Wycliffe, William Tyndale was born (1454). This great man, who may properly be called the "Father of Our English Bible," found his way prepared for him: (1) By the work of Erasmus and the New Learning which was the force in the Oxford and Cambridge of his day where he studied. (2) By the work of the Lollards, who had freed the English mind and created a hunger for the Scriptures. (3) By the printing-press, which was brought by Caxton to England in 1470 and was printing many Latin Bibles for English readers.

While still a student, he was deeply stirred by the coarseness and ignorance of the churchmen of his day. Of 308 clergy in one diocese, 40 did not know the Lord's Prayer, and 168 did not know the Ten Commandments. It was in controversy with one of those ignoramuses one

day that he made the classic rejoinder: "If God spare my life I will cause the boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scripture than thou dost." And he set himself then and there to his life-work, the translation of the Bible into English.

But he met opposition and persecution from the church and was obliged to flee England in 1524, never to return. He first went to Hamburg; then, being threatened, fled to Cologne, and again in danger, he escaped with three thousand sheets of his work to Worms. Here in 1525 he issued his first Bible, a copy of the New Testament, *the first printed English Bible.* It was smuggled into England, where it met furious opposition from church and state, and was burned wherever found. But its popularity only increased the more, and in all about fifteen thousand copies were finally circulated in England.

Then he set himself to translate the Old Testament. His work as a translator was destined to live, because he went back of the Latin to the originals, which his profound scholarship enabled him to interpret with accuracy. He finally issued his Old Testament in 1530. But his enemies became more active. He fled from city to city—Marburg, Antwerp, Brussels. He was finally betrayed into the hands of his enemies and at Vilvorde, near Brussels, on October 6, 1536, was strangled and then burned. His last words were a prayer—"Lord, open the King of England's eyes."

He well deserves his title as "Father of Our English Bible." For through all the successive translations his words still remain. Eighty per cent of the vocabulary of the Old Testament and ninety per cent of the vocabulary of the New are his. And the style of our English Bible was his creation, with its lucidity, vividness, warmth, and earnestness. His work as a translator was not that of a mere scholar but of a flaming apostle of truth; each word was written with prayer. Modest, tolerant, earnest, self-

sacrificing, no more noble character than his is found in all our modern history.

VII. The Vindication of Tyndale

The circulation of the copies of Tyndale's Bible in England had created such a demand for the Scripture that Archbishop Cranmer (one of Tyndale's bitterest enemies) secured the approval of Henry VIII and engaged a man named Miles Coverdale to make a translation in English. He used Tyndale, almost copying his version complete. His Bible was issued in 1535, and Cranmer's name was on the title-page.

In 1537, one year after Tyndale's death, a man named John Rogers, a warm personal friend of Tyndale, issued a Bible under the pseudonym of Matthew, called Matthew's Bible, which received the sanction of Henry VIII. It was again almost an exact copy of Tyndale.

So great was the popularity of these two Bibles that by combined royal and ecclesiastical authority a new Bible was issued in 1539 called the "Great Bible," as it was a large folio volume. It was scattered widely among the churches of England and chained to the reading-desks, where people came to read it and hear it read. It was the work of Coverdale and was a revision of Tyndale, largely again like his Bible. And on the title-page was a list of its sponsors, and among them was Tunstall, Lord Bishop of London, who ten years before had driven Tyndale out of England.

Still later in 1569 a splendid folio edition (which went through thirty-nine editions) was issued, called "The Bishop's Bible." This again was largely a reprinting of Tyndale's Bible.

Thus was Tyndale triumphantly vindicated, and his dying prayer fulfilled beyond all that he could have dreamed.

VIII. The Geneva Bible

Then came a period of bitter persecution in England under Mary, and the Bible was proscribed in England. Many English reformers and Protestant scholars fled to Geneva, notable among them John Knox, Miles Coverdale, and Whittingham. Here for many years John Calvin had maintained the intellectual centre of Protestantism. And here these men created the greatest English Bible ever issued up to that time, the Geneva Bible of 1560.

It was characterized by new and unique features. It was the first to present the Bible in chapters and verses, the first to use Roman letter rather than black letter, the first to use marginal notes. It was also small and compact, about nine by six inches in size. It included the Apocrypha in addition to the Old and New Testaments. It is sometimes called "The Breeches Bible," because of its quaint translation of Gen. 3:7: "and they sewed figleaves together and made them breeches." Over one hundred and fifty editions were printed and thousands upon thousands sold in England. For a half-century it was *the one English Bible of importance.*

IX. The Rheims-Douay Version

The English Catholic scholars, recognizing the great popularity and power of the Genevan version, were spurred into the creation of an English Bible for Catholic use. The New Testament was translated at Rheims in France, and issued in 1582. The Old Testament is stated to have been ready at the same time, but for want of funds was not printed until 1609, at Douay in Belgium. It was based on the Vulgate and is almost a literal translation of it. It is still the one Catholic Bible of to-day for all English-speaking Catholics.

X. The Authorized Version of 1611

When King James came to the throne in 1603 he found High Churchmen and Puritans in bitter strife, and called in 1604 the famous "Hampton Court Conference" to compose their differences. At this conference one of the leading Puritan scholars proposed that a new version of the Bible be made. This took the fancy of the would-be literary king, and although the Bishop of London was opposed, he entered on the project with slowly growing zeal, much of which was no doubt due to his hatred of the marginal notes in the Genevan version which explicitly attacked that "divine right of kings" which he so militantly defended. So in 1604 he gathered fifty-four scholars of the kingdom, who met in three groups at Oxford, Cambridge, and Westminster. It cost the royal exchequer nothing, the expense being borne by Barker, the printer of the book. The work of translation consumed six years. It was a work of real scholarship, and drew for its use upon all the important preceding versions. It is not so much a new translation as a revision of previous versions. Accordingly the spirit and vocabulary are those of Tyndale, and the interpretation that of the Geneva Bible. It was finally issued in 1611 as the "Authorized" or "King James" version and prefaced by a fulsome and nauseously flattering dedication to King James.

(1) Its Qualities as a Version.

It is by all odds the best version made in the history of the English Bible up to our day. It is honestly a version and does not warp the vocabulary to prove some religious theory as do the Genevan and Rheims versions. It is remarkably accurate as a faithful reproduction in English of the originals. Its language is a blending of the scholarly and popular speech of the Elizabethan era. Avoiding both extremes and occupying a middle ground,

comparatively few of its words have become obsolete, a fact that is amply demonstrated by a perusal of Shakespeare, where hundreds of words are now meaningless and outworn.

(2) Its Qualities as Literature.

This King James Version is the greatest English classic. "It is a book," wrote Macaulay, "which, if everything else in our language should perish, would alone suffice to show the whole extent of its beauty and power." And Green writes: "As a mere literary monument the English version of the Bible remains the noblest example of the English tongue. Its perpetual use made it from the instant of its appearance the standard of our language." Its style avoids the extremes of elegance or coarseness, and is vastly superior even to its own age in its perfection of simplicity and purity. This style, which is so matchless, was due to three conditions: (1) It was builded on Tyndale, who was a master of this type of English speech. (2) It was a book for the people, not the pedants, and so kept its noble simplicity. (3) It was loyal to the originals in its translation and so preserved those remarkable qualities of simplicity, strength, and picturesqueness of the Hebrew and Greek.

Its literary characteristics are three: (*a*) Its brevity and conciseness, which give it strength. It uses *few* words (Shakespeare's vocabulary was 20,000 words, Milton's 10,000, the Bible has only *6,000* words). It uses *short* words. (The 23d Psalm contains 119 words, and 95 are words of one syllable; eighty per cent of the words in the Sermon on the Mount are words of one syllable.) (*b*) It is elementally earnest and dignified. There is no play of humor or fancy in this book. Life is terribly real to its authors and this version has been faithful to the intensity and sincerity with which their words are possessed. (*c*) It is rhythmic and musical. Professor Cook, of Yale, well says: "The picturesqueness of the language addresses

the mind's eye; its regular, natural harmony captures the mind's ear; the verses fall into march time, the regular recurrence of antiphonal beats." This is an elusive but nevertheless a very real quality which this version alone possesses, and which the æsthetic sense instinctively understands.

It is and always will be the one Bible for our English-speaking race, for literary use, for memorization, for public reading, for it came into being under conditions both of language and life that can never again be repeated. Because of this marvellous literary charm and power it will never cease to be the classic English Version.

(3) Its Literary Power.

Nor should we fail to understand how largely it has influenced our English literature. As Doctor Stryker says: "All our English literature is saturated with its imagery; reference and echo are everywhere. It underlies the pomp of Milton, the vigor of Johnson, the limpid flow of Wordsworth, the rhythm of Ruskin, the eloquence of Macaulay, the severe, swift ease of Arnold, the roll of Hooker and Browne, the perfect periods of Dryden, the rugged fire of Carlyle, the companionability of Emerson, the clarity and repose of DeQuincey, the chastity of Hawthorne, the boldness of Whittier, the music of Tennyson, the conviction of Browning. Bacon, Jeremy Taylor, Charles Wesley, Southey, Newman, Webster, Froude, and so many, many more answer the trenchant mastery, the polychromatic vividness, the purged and exalted, the liquid and pellucid style of the book that bred them."

XI. The Revised Version

It is a long, far cry from 1611 to our day, and these three centuries have witnessed such changes and advances in literature and culture as called imperatively at the end of the nineteenth century for a new version of the Bible, one that should more fully meet the needs of the modern

world. There were three chief reasons for this demand for a new version: (*a*) The English language had very greatly changed. There were scores of obsolete words and phrases in the Authorized Version. (*b*) There had come into existence a far more thorough and scholarly knowledge of the original languages—the Hebrew and Greek. (*c*) There had been discovered in the years that followed 1611 a host of versions and Christian writings of early theologians, which threw a flood of light upon the original text. Moreover, none of the three oldest and most valuable manuscripts of the Bible—the Vatican, Alexandrian, or Sinaitic —were available for the translators of 1611. They were all brought to light since that day, and their study called for many changes to be made in the vocabulary of the Authorized Version. Archæology, ethnology, geography, ancient history, and a score of kindred sciences had arisen since 1611, and each had much light to throw on the language and ideas of Scripture.

So in 1870 the work of revision was launched by two committees of scholars, English and American, including the greatest authorities on both sides of the Atlantic. The New Testament was completed in 1881, and the Old Testament in 1885. There was great public interest in this work; so much so that on May 20, 1881, practically the entire New Testament was cabled across the Atlantic and printed in great New York and Chicago dailies.

So many differences arose between the American and English group that it was finally decided that the variant readings of the Americans should be added in an appendix to the 1885 edition, and that, after the expiration of the copyright period of fourteen years, the American Committee should publish a new edition. So during this period the American Committee, under the leadership of Philip Schaff, concluded its labors, and in 1901 the American Standard Revised Version was published. It is in all respects the better of the Revised Versions.

The values of the Revised Version in which it is superior to the Authorized Version may be enumerated as follows:

Its form of printing enables one to differentiate at a glance prose and poetry. Its language is vivid and arresting; for example: "Behold the sower went forth to sow" (Matt. 13:3) is much more picturesque than the Authorized Version rendering: "Behold a sower went forth." It clears up many obscure passages. In Matt. 6:25 the Authorized Version reads, "Take no thought for the morrow," advice which, literally interpreted, would give Jesus' sanction to a life of mendicancy. In the Revised Version it reads: "Be not anxious for the morrow."

It retranslates archaic and obsolete words. For example (Matt. 17, 25), the Authorized Version reads: "Jesus *prevented* him, saying, etc." But "prevent" now means to "forestall." The Revised Version gives us the real sense of the passage in modern words: "Jesus spake first to him, saying, etc." It corrects erroneous ideas. Luke 3:23 reads in the Authorized Version: "Jesus began to be about thirty years of age." In the Revised Version it is translated: "Jesus, when he began to teach, was about thirty years of age." It is full of graphic touches. In Mark 9:22, 23, is the prosaic rendering, "If thou canst believe, all things are possible"; which the Revised Version gives in its dramatic form as an echo by Jesus of the epileptic boy's father's speech in the preceding verse: "If thou canst! All things are possible to him that believeth."

It gives much more accurately and clearly (led by our study of Eastern manners and customs in modern days) phrases that are obscured in the older version. For example, in Matt. 6:19, where the Authorized Version reads, "where thieves break through and steal," the translators were governed by Western conditions, where burglary is a matter of breaking doors and windows. The Revised Version renders it "dig through," because the mud or adobe walls of Eastern houses offered an easy ingress to the

spade of a robber. And in Matt. 9:20, where the Authorized Version, again governed by Western customs, reads, "sat at meat," the Revised Version, more true to Eastern usages, reads, "reclined." It has modernized the English of the Bible to harmonize with the classic English of today. It has very greatly improved the book by the use of paragraphing, thus aiding the reader to catch more quickly the sense and setting of the Scripture.

It is a much more consistent and accurate translation of the Hebrew and Greek originals. No translation could be created that within the limits of good literary usage could give us a more close and accurate rendering of the originals. It omits the old book and chapter headings, which were all traditional and in many cases misleading. Instead of this we have the helpful, running head-lines which simply indicate the contents of each page. It has the most complete and perfect set of marginal cross-references for the student ever devised. These instances serve to show that this version is in all respects the best and most accurate translation for the student of Scripture ever issued.

So it is suggested as of practical value to all readers of the book that every one should have *two* copies of the Scripture: one the Authorized Version, in which we shall ever continue to read for the literary charm and beauty of its translation, for devotional use, and for memorization of its noblest passages; the other the Revised Version, for use whenever one wants the most careful and accurate scholarly translation of the words of the writers of the Bible. Each version has its place and function, and both are necessary for use in biblical appreciation and study.

Nor should one fail to have for his more intelligent appreciation of the meanings of the book, which are often hidden behind its familiar but classic English vocabulary, the vernacular translations of recent years, which are an attempt to give us the Bible in the language of our own day, and which will often kindle in the reader a fresh in-

terest and new delight in the old book. Of these the most elaborate is that of Moulton in his "Modern Readers' Bible," in which one finds the Bible reclothed in its original literary forms, and possessing a new beauty in its literary arrangement. Kent's "Shorter Bible" is of value as an anthology of the choicest passages of Scripture given in a modernly printed form and a fresh and vigorous translation. Two modern speech versions of the Bible are Moffatt's and Goodspeed's. The first is from the pen of a great Scotch scholar, the second from a distinguished American professor. Each has its peculiar values, Moffatt's version being more finished and exquisite in style, Goodspeed's more vigorous, colloquial, and popular.

XII. The Supreme Book

The story of the creation and collection, the translation and transmission of this anthology of the growing thought and life of an elect race, flowering in the Supreme Personality of history, leads to the conclusion that here is the Supreme Book of all literature.

It is supreme as literature. The dignity, rhythmic beauty, variety, vividness, naturalness, earnestness, power of the Bible make it for all time the greatest English classic. And all our noblest English literature is permeated with the themes, the style, even the phraseology of Scripture.

It is supreme as a book of religion. There were other Bibles of other faiths equally venerated, but our Christian Scriptures do not suffer by comparison with other sacred books. These other books are local or racial, the Bible is timeless and universal. None of them presents us with a complete philosophy of religion; for the pantheism of the Brahman scriptures, the agnosticism of the Buddhist sacred books, the pragmatism of Confucius's "Analects," the hard monotheism of the Koran, are all partial and incomplete expressions of truth. Only in the Bible do

we find a comprehensive and satisfying philosophy of God and man and life.

And the supremacy of the Bible over all other sacred books finds its chiefest evidence in the fact that it is primarily a book of life. Behind its words lies a background of real human experience. Through its pages peer human faces, with their hope and fear, joy and sorrow, tragedy and triumph. Its pæans and elegies, its ballads and odes, its hymns and prayers all echo the deepest feelings of human hearts. It is a gallery of portraits of real men and women, through whom and in whom God speaks to the soul. The whole book was lived first, and then written, and its charm and power lie in its vital values. For since only life can kindle life, since truth is impotent until it is incarnate, since personality is the mightiest force in the world, the Bible as the Book of Life has been a mighty dynamic through the centuries for human living. It lighted the torch of freedom, and Wycliffe and Savonarola, Luther and Knox, Puritan and Huguenot, bore it onward. It has been the constant inspiration of all that is pure and noble and beautiful in life. From the oratory of Moses and the prophets, Pitt and Burke and Webster learned to voice the deepest feeling of the heart. In its immutable justice and its wise law men like Gladstone and Washington saw the only stable foundations of true government. From its haunting melodies, its echoes of the harmonies of heaven, came the inspiration for the divine music of Bach and Beethoven, Handel and Haydn, Gounod and Mendelssohn. Its "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" furnished the theme and motif of the immortal hymns of Wesley and Watts and Dykes and Barnby. Its vivid pictures and changing scenes inspired the masterpieces of a Raphael and a Michael Angelo. Its profound philosophy has been the all-absorbing study of the great master minds of earth, from Augustine to Kant and Hegel. The lives and words of an Isaiah and a Jeremiah have

raised up the prophets of the latter days, and Brooks and Beecher and Spurgeon and Moody have spoken with mighty fervor and prophetic power. The spirit of the apostles of the Cross still lives in the record of the saints and martyrs and heroes of the Christian ages which they have baptized with their blood. And the great band of the Sir Galahads of history, from Paul to Lincoln, have ridden forth to knightly and fearless championship of the weak and oppressed at the clarion call of Holy Writ.

Since the final evidence that the Bible is the supreme book of mankind lies in its revelation of truth and God, not in words but in men, not in texts but in personalities, the chief purpose of all true Bible study is found not in the understanding of its letter but of its life. The ability to repeat the language of the Bible has its values, but is not to be compared to the companionship of one's soul with its great and glowing personalities. To stand with Isaiah in the Temple and see the vision of the Lord in his glory; to share the grief of Jeremiah mourning over the ruins of Jerusalem; to enter with Paul into that Roman prison and hear his last jubilant words of faith; to walk with the Christ from Bethlehem to Calvary—these are inspirational experiences of vastly greater help to our souls than the most complete familiarity with the words and texts of the Bible. And it has been the purpose of this present volume to make so vivid the Background of the Bible, to enter into such close contact with the real life and pulsing thought out of which it came, that its great personalities, through that fellowship of the spirit which such an approach makes possible, may work in all who thus read the Book that same miracle of transformed life and character that God wrought in them. This is truly to make the Bible a living book, inspired because it inspires.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

GENERAL QUESTIONS, DISCUSSION TOPICS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Introduction

Questions.—1. Who was the pioneer of modern biblical criticism? 2. What is the nature of the Bible? 3. What kind of revelation is found in it? 4. What do we mean by the inspiration of the Bible? What is the chief value of the Bible as defined in II Timothy 3:16?

Bibliography.—Willett's "Our Bible"; Fosdick's "The Modern Use of the Bible"; Genung's "Guidebook to the Biblical Literature"; Gladden's "Who Wrote the Bible?" Mathew's "The Faith of Modernism"; Clark's "Sixty Years with the Bible"; Moehlman's "The Unknown Bible"; Dod's "The Bible, Its Origin and Nature"; Harris's "A Century of Change in Religion."

Chapter I. The Bible and the Spade

Questions.—1. What are the values of archæology for our knowledge of ancient history? 2. In what five countries of Palestine did events of Old Testament history take place? 3. In what country have archæological researches been the most extensive and remarkable, and why? 4. What modern archæological discovery gave us the key to the ancient Hebrew language? 5. In what way does archæology throw light on the Bible?

Discussion Topics.—1. The Tel-el-Amarna Letters and Old Palestine. 2. Tut-ankh-Amen's Tomb and Its Discovery. 3. Oxyrhynchus and Its Papyri.

Bibliography.—"Hilprecht's Exploration in Bible Lands"; McCurdy's "History, Prophecy and the Monuments"; Bliss's "Development of Palestine Exploration"; Barton's "Archæology and the Bible"; Grenfell and Hunt's "Oxyrhynchus

Papyri"; Petrie's "Syria and Egypt from the Tel-el-Amarna Letters"; Handcock's "Mesopotamian Archæology."

Chapter II. The Records of the Past

Questions.—1. Why was the invention of writing so important for human progress? 2. Describe the stages of the evolution of the alphabet. 3. What was the key to the Egyptian hieroglyphics? 4. Name the six stages of the evolution of Hebrew literature. 5. The five stages of early Christian literature. 6. Give three characteristics of the Hebrew language.

Discussion Topics.—1. The Decipherment of the Rosetta Stone. 2. The Aramaic words in the gospels. 3. The Hebrew language compared with English as a literary vehicle.

Bibliography.—Hastings's "Dictionary of the Bible"—arts., "Language of Old Testament," "Language of New Testament"; Briggs's "Study of Holy Scripture," pp. 42–74; "An Outline of Christianity," vol. IV, pp. 339–49, pp. 375–413; Wells's "Outline of History," pp. 158–76.

Chapter III. The Epic of a Book

Questions.—1. Name the four kinds of writing materials used in ancient times. 2. What are uncial, cursive Greek manuscripts? 3. What is the origin of the words—"paper," "volume," "quire"? 4. When did the modern book-form displace the roll? 5. Who is thought to have invented printing? 6. Name the three divisions of the Old Testament canon. 7. Name the three most valuable biblical manuscripts.

Discussion Topics.—1. The history and work of the Old Testament scribes. 2. The monasteries and the Bible. 3. The invention and development of the art of printing. 4. Ptolemy and the Septuagint. 5. The romance of the discovery of biblical manuscripts.

Bibliography.—Hastings's "Dictionary of the Bible"—arts., "Text of the Old Testament," "Text of the New Testament"; Milligan's "Here and There Among the Papyri"; Davenport's "The Book, Its History and Development";

Putnam's "Books and Their Makers in the Middle Ages"; Orcutt's "The Kingdom of Books."

Chapter IV. The Bible Before the Bible

Questions.—1. How many dynasties ruled in ancient Egypt in historic times? 2. Name the four eras of ancient Egyptian history. 3. What gods did the early Egyptians worship? 4. Narrate the myth of Osiris. 5. Name the three empires of the history of Mesopotamia. 6. Give the names of three ancient Babylonian divinities. 7. Name five discoveries of Babylonian science.

Discussion Topics.—1. The story of Ikhn-Aton, the heretic king of Egypt. 2. The Egyptian doctrine of the resurrection. 3. The reason why Egypt influenced so little the Hebrew religion. 4. Compare and contrast the Nile and Euphrates Valleys. 5. References to Egypt in the Bible.

Bibliography.—"Breasted's "The Conquest of Civilization"; Wells's "Outline of History," pp. 131–207; Breasted's "History of Egypt"; Maspero's "The Dawn of Civilization"; Jastrow's "Civilizations of Babylonia and Assyria"; Robertson Smith's "Religion of the Semites"; Ball's "Light from the East"; Grant's "The Orient in Bible Times."

Chapter V. The Land, the People, and the Book

Questions.—1. Describe the Semitic migrations. 2. Name three problems of the Old Testament explained by these racial affinities. 3. What were the differences between the Greek and the Hebrew mind? 4. Name the five longitudinal divisions of Palestine. 5. What feeling did the Hebrew have toward the desert and the sea? 6. What were the influences of the land on the people?

Discussion Topics.—1. The sacredness of Sinai and Semitic religion. 2. The story of Syria in the World War. 3. The Jordan Valley and its peculiarities. 4. The references to water in the Bible. 5. Zionism's return to Palestine.

Bibliography.—Kelman's "The Holy Land"; Smith's "Historical Geography of the Holy Land"; Wild's "Geographic Influences in Old Testament Masterpieces; Gerkie's "The Holy Land and the Bible"; Kent's "Biblical Geogra-

phy and History"; Hastings's "Dictionary of the Bible"—art., "Palestine."

Chapter VI. The Beginnings of the Bible

Questions.—1. Name the three types of folk-lore found among the ancient Hebrews. 2. Who wrote the Book of Genesis? 3. Name four differences between the two accounts of creation in Genesis. 4. Describe the Semitic idea of the universe. 5. What are the likenesses and differences between the Hebrew and Babylonian stories of the flood? 6. What was the purpose of the author of Genesis 1?

Discussion Topics.—1. The values of mythology. 2. The Mosaic authorship of Genesis. 3. The traces of Babylonian mythology in Genesis 1–11. 4. The warfare of science and theology.

Bibliography.—Worcester's "Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge"; Hastings's "Dictionary of the Bible"—art., "Genesis"; Jastrow's "Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions"; Fowler's "A History of the Literature of Ancient Israel"; Ryle's "The Early Narratives of Genesis"; Kent's "Students' Old Testament"—vol. I, "Beginnings of Hebrew History"; Gordon's "Early Traditions of Genesis."

Chapter VII. The Makers of the Old Testament

Questions.—1. Name the Old Testament books that are anonymous. 2. What are the four groups of writers who created the Old Testament? 3. Name the five classes of oral source material for the Old Testament. 4. Give the four literary periods with their dates. 5. What was the first book of the Old Testament to be written in complete form?

Discussion Topics.—1. Why Oriental literature is largely anonymous. 2. The character of early poetry among the Semites. 3. The Laws of Hammurabi and the Laws of Moses.

Bibliography.—Kent's "Historical Bible," vols. I and II; Wood's "The Bible as Literature"; Driver's "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament"; McFadyen's "Messages of the Prophetic and Priestly Historians"; Smith's

"Old Testament History"; Curtiss's "Primitive Semitic Religion To-day"; Soares's "The Social Institutions and Ideals of the Bible"; Fowler's "A History of the Literature of Ancient Israel"; Abbott's "Life and Literature of the Hebrews."

Chapter VIII. The Evolution of the Old Testament

Questions.—1. What idea of religion does the most ancient decalogue reveal? 2. What was the moral advance found in Deuteronomy? 3. What was the early Hebrew idea of man? 4. What two limitations did early Hebrew thought impose on God? 5. What was the earlier prophetic idea of God? 6. What attribute of God is revealed by the later prophets?

Discussion Topics.—1. The Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21–3). 2. The imprecatory psalms and their picture of God. 3. The doctrine of the "Divine Servant" in Isaiah. 4. The Old and New Testament conceptions of God.

Bibliography.—Brewer's "Literature of the Old Testament in Its Historical Development"; Creelman's "Introduction to the Old Testament"; Hunting's "The Story of Our Bible"; Lewis's "How the Bible Grew"; Bade's "The Old Testament in the Light of To-day"; Toy's "Judaism and Christianity"; Severn's "Makers of the Bible and Their Literary Methods"; Gilbert's "Interpretation of the Bible"; Hastings's "Dictionary of the Bible"—art., "Allegory"; Gould's "The Building of the Bible."

Chapter IX. Prophet and Priest

Questions.—1. Trace the evolution of the prophet in Israel. 2. Name the five great crises of Hebrew history and the prophets associated with each. 3. What were the leading ideas of Amos? 4. What were the character and message of Hosea? 5. Name the two early prophetic histories. 6. What was the chief interest of the priests?

Discussion Topics.—1. The sources of the prophetic message. 2. Politics and prophecy, and their relation to modern preaching. 3. The eighth century B. C. in Israel and

the twentieth century A. D. in America. 4. The prophetic and priestly elements in the modern church.

Bibliography.—G. A. Smith's "The Book of the Twelve Prophets"; Orelli's "Old Testament Prophecy"; Ottley's "The Hebrew Prophets"; Willett's "The Prophets of Israel"; Kent's "Students' Old Testament"—"Sermons, Epistles and Apocalypses of Hebrew Prophets"; Kent's "Origin and Permanent Value of the Old Testament"; Kent's "The Great Teachers of Judaism and Christianity"; McFadyen's "Messages of the Prophetic and Priestly Historians."

Chapter X. The Hebrew Classics—Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs

Questions.—1. Who were the "wise men" in old Israel? 2. What was the wisdom which they taught? 3. What differentiates Hebrew poetry from prose? 4. What is the value of Ecclesiastes to the modern mind? 5. What is the best interpretation of the structure of the Song of Songs?

Discussion Topics.—1. The wisdom of the Hebrew sages compared with the philosophy of Greece. 2. Eastern legend and its pictures of Solomon. 3. Ecclesiastes and the Rubaiyat—likenesses and differences. 4. The Imagery of Ecclesiastes 12.

Bibliography.—Genung's "The Words of Koheleth" and "Epic of the Inner Life"; Jastrow's "Song of Songs" and "Gentle Cynic"; Moulton's "Modern Readers' Bible" and "Literary Study of the Bible"; Purinton's "Biblical Literature"; Wild's "A Literary Guide to the Bible"; Courtney's "The Literary Man's Bible"; Drinkwater's "Outline of Literature," vol. I, pp. 113–136; Herder's "The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry"; Kent's "Wise Men and Their Proverbs"; Stalker's "The Beauty of the Bible."

Chapter XI. The Hebrew Classics—Psalms, Job

Questions.—1. What is the meaning of "psalm"? 2. What were the "Songs of Ascents"? 3. How many "books" in the Psalter? 4. Why do we call the book "The Psalms of David"? 5. What kind of literature is the Book of Job? 6. What was its original purpose?

Discussion Topics.—1. Music in the Old Testament. 2. The Psalms in modern hymnology. 3. The literary qualities of Job. 4. The idea of God in the nature poems (chaps. 38–44) of Job.

Bibliography.—Jastrow's "Job"; Cornill's "Culture of Ancient Israel"—art., "Music"; Kent's "Students' Old Testament"—"Psalms, Hymns, and Prayers"; Montefiore's "The Book of Psalms"; Van Dyke's "The Story of the Psalms"; Kirkpatrick's "The Book of Psalms"; Cheyne's "Job and Solomon"; Davidson's "Job" (in Cambridge Bible); Moulton's "Modern Readers' Bible."

Chapter XII. The So-called Silent Centuries

Questions.—1. What questions do we face as we enter the New Testament to which it gives us no answer? 2. In what three centres did Judaism between the Old and New Testaments find its foci? 3. What great permanent Jewish institution came out of Babylonian Judaism? 4. What great Bible translation was made by Western Judaism? 5. What great power sought to stamp out Judaism in this period? 6. What Old Testament book reflects this persecution?

Discussion Topics.—1. The Talmud, its writing and character. 2. The Ptolemies and Alexandrian culture. 3. The philosophy of Philo and its influence. 4. The rise of the Maccabees. 5. The origin of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Scribes.

Bibliography.—Charles's "Religious Development between the Old and New Testament"; Bevan's "Jerusalem under the High Priests"; Danbury's "Use of the Apocrypha in the Christian Church"; Oesterly's "The Books of the Apocrypha"; Porter's "Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers"; Cheyne's "Jewish Religion After the Exile"; Gregg's "Between the Testaments"; Deutsch's "The Talmud."

Chapter XIII. The Background of the New Testament

Questions.—1. Narrate briefly the story of Herod the Great. 2. Trace on the map the divisions of Palestine at his death. 3. What were the relations of Rome to Judaism

in New Testament days? 4. Could Jesus have become political "king of the Jews"? 5. What was the condition of Jewish religion when Christ came? 6. What conditions in the Roman world gave Christianity its opportunity?

Discussion Topics.—1. The Roman system of provincial government. 2. The Mithra cult and the Roman army. 3. The Stoic philosophy in Roman days. 4. The political weakness of Rome in Jesus' day.

Bibliography.—Fairweather's "Background of the Gospels"; Mathews's "A History of New Testament Times"; Merrill's "Galilee in the Time of Christ"; Angus's "The Environment of Early Christianity"; Edersheim's "Life and Times of Jesus," vol. I; Simkhovitch's "Toward the Understanding of Jesus."

Chapter XIV. The Apostle Paul

Questions.—1. Give briefly the important events in Paul's early life. 2. Trace on the map the First, Second, and Third Journeys. 3. Tell the story of the voyage to Rome. 4. What was the purpose of Paul's last journey? 5. What were the probable dates of Paul's birth and death? 6. What did he achieve during his life?

Discussion Topics.—1. Christianity in Antioch. 2. The preparation of the world for Paul's preaching. 3. The value of the Book of Acts as history. 4. The Judaistic controversy, Paul vs. Peter. 5. Rome in Nero's day.

Bibliography.—Abbott's "Life and Letters of Paul"; Smith's "Life and Letters of Paul"; Ramsay's "St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen"; Gilbert's "Student's Life of Paul"; Jefferson's "The Character of Paul"; Farrar's "Life and Work of St. Paul"; Glover's "Paul of Tarsus."

Chapter XV. The Letters of Paul

Questions.—1. Did Paul write the letters with his own hand? 2. How many letters did Paul write? 3. What was the purpose of Galatians? 4. What situation evoked I Cor. 13? 5. What is the central theme of Ephesians and Colossians? 6. What was Paul's greatest contribution to Christianity?

Discussion Topics.—1. The apocalyptic hope of the early church. 2. The "New Thought" of Asia Minor as seen in the prologue to John's gospel. 3. The leading ideas of Paul. 4. Paul and Jesus.

Bibliography.—Abbott's "Life and Letters of Paul"; Smith's "Life and Letters of Paul"; Stevens's "The Messages of Paul"; Peabody's "The Apostle Paul and the Modern World"; Bacon's "The Making of the New Testament"; Wrede's "Paul and Jesus"; Moffatt's "Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament."

Chapter XVI. The Synoptic Gospels

Questions.—1. What is the synoptic problem? 2. What are the sources of our present gospels? 3. What are the literary characteristics of Mark? 4. What is the purpose of the Gospel of Matthew? 5. Where did Luke find his version of the nativity?

Discussion Topics.—1. The Writings of Papias and their historical value. 2. Peter and the church at Rome. 3. Luke's historical method. 4. The medical terms in Luke. 5. The portrait of Jesus in each of the three gospels.

Bibliography.—Hobart's "The Medical Language of St. Luke"; Wrede's "Origin of the New Testament"; Kent's "Life and Teaching of Jesus"; Bacon's "Story of Jesus"; Case's "Jesus"; Moffatt's "Introduction to the New Testament"; Montefiore's "The Synoptic Gospels"; Stanton's "The Gospels as Historical Documents"; Burkett's "The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus."

Chapter XVII. The Fourth Gospel

Questions.—1. What is the Johannine problem? 2. What New Testament books are traditionally attributed to John? 3. What are the evidences that John wrote the fourth gospel? 4. What are the evidences that he did not write Revelation? 5. What is the purpose of the gospel of John? 6. What four proofs confirm our belief in the historical value of the Gospels?

Discussion Topics.—1. The life and work of John as revealed in the New Testament. 2. Browning's "Death in the

Desert" and the church traditions regarding John's last days. 3. John's conception of Christ. 4. The differences between John and the Synoptics.

Bibliography.—Drummond's "Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel"; Bacon's "The Fourth Gospel"; Scott's "The Fourth Gospel, Its Purpose and Theology"; Wrede's "Origin of the New Testament"; Bennett and Adeney's "Biblical Introduction"; Charnwood's "According to St. John."

Chapter XVIII. The Life of Christ

Questions.—1. When was Jesus born? 2. Into what eight divisions does his life naturally fall? 3. What elements of his environment were of value in his growth? 4. What events ushered in his ministry? 5. How many years did he work and teach? 6. How old was Jesus at his death? 7. At what place were his parables and many of his teachings given?

Discussion Topics.—The call and training of his disciples. 2. The methods of Jesus as a teacher. 3. Jesus' teaching on the kingdom of God. 4. The Pharisees and their teaching. 5. The proofs of the resurrection.

Bibliography.—Kent's "Life and Teachings of Jesus"; Edersheim's "Life and Times of Jesus"; Gilbert's "Students' Life of Jesus"; Kent's "Great Teachers of Judaism and Christianity"; Glover's "The Jesus of History"; Grose's "Never Man So Spake"; Dawson's "The Man Christ Jesus"; Watson's "The Life of the Master"; Dougall's "The Lord of Thought."

Chapter XIX. Later New Testament Literature —James, Peter, Jude

Questions.—1. What Old Testament book does James resemble in style? 2. Tell in a few words the story of Peter's last days. 3. Why was II Peter not written by Peter? 4. What was the purpose of Jude?

Discussion Topics.—1. The social ideals of the early church. 2. The Apocrypha in the New Testament.

Bibliography.—Rauschenbusch's "Christianity and the Social Crisis"; Danbury's "Use of the Apocrypha in the Christian Church"; Plumptre's "The Epistle of James and Jude"; Mayor's "The Epistle of St. James"; Bigg's "Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude."

Chapter XX. Later New Testament Literature —Hebrews, John, Revelation

Questions.—What four authors of Hebrews have been suggested? 2. What is the purpose of this epistle? 3. What is the message of I John? 4. What are the five characteristics of apocalyptic literature? 5. Why was Revelation written and to whom? 6. Is it a panorama of the future history of the world? 7. Is it a picture of heaven?

Discussion Topics.—1. The sacrificial system of the Old Testament and its survivals in the church. 2. The resemblances between the fourth gospel and I John. 3. The apocalyptic literature of the "Silent Centuries." 4. The Neronian and Domitian persecution of the early church. 5. The imagery of Revelation in Christian hymns and literature.

Bibliography.—Willett's "The Messages of the Books"; Davidson's "The Epistle to the Hebrews"; Bruce's "The Epistle to the Hebrews"; Plummer's "The Epistle of St. John"; Westcott's "The Epistles of St. John"; Terry's "Biblical Apocalyptics"; Milligan's "The Book of Revelation"; Scott's "The Book of the Revelation"; Case's "The Book of Revelation."

Chapter XXI.—The Bible and the Middle Ages

Questions.—1. What was the Bible of the apostolic church? 2. What four types of literature make up the New Testament Apocrypha? 3. How many years was the canon variable? 4. What three Bibles were in use in 350 A. D.? 5. What influence led to the general acceptance of our present sixty-six books? 6. Name three early versions of the Bible. 7. What was the date of the first official action on the canon?

Discussion Topics.—1. The mediæval science. 2. The

mediæval universities and biblical teaching. 3. The art and architecture of the mediæval era in relation to the Bible.

Bibliography.—Goodspeed's "The Formation of the New Testament"; Hastings's "Dictionary of the Bible"—art., "New Testament Canon"; Moffatt's "The Approach to the New Testament"; Smyth's "The Bible in the Making"; Gregory's "The Canon and Text of the New Testament"; Von Dobschutz's "The Influence of the Bible on Civilization"; Robinson's "The Ordeal of Civilization"; Taylor's "The Mediæval Mind"; Davis's "Mediæval Europe."

Chapter XXII. The Reformation and the Bible

Questions.—1. What was the Renaissance? 2. What was Luther's attitude toward the Bible? 3. How did Calvin look upon the Bible? 4. What is the basic idea of the Bible held by the great reformers? 5. Why was the Apocrypha excluded from the Protestant Bible? 6. Do the great creeds of the church embody the reformer's attitude toward the Bible? 7. When did the idea of the infallible Bible appear and why?

Discussion Topics.—1. The leading ideas of Luther. 2. The Counter-Reformation and its effects on Protestantism. 3. The values of the Old Testament Apocrypha. 4. The effects of the dogma of an infallible Bible.

Bibliography.—Robinson's "The Ordeal of Civilization"; Abbott's "The Expansion of Europe"; Withrow's "Beacon Lights of the Reformation"; Walter's "The Reformation"; Smith's "The Reformation"; Brace's "Gesta Christi."

Chapter XXIII. The Romance of Our English Bible

Questions.—1. Name the three Anglo-Saxon translations of the Bible. 2. Who was the first real English translator of the Bible? 3. Who issued the first English printed Bible and where? 4. Name the four Bibles that followed Tyndale's version. 5. What was the influence of the Geneva version? 6. What is the name of the Roman Catholic version in English and when was it made? 7. What influences led to the Authorized Version?—to the Revised Version?

Discussion Topics.—1. The life and work of Tyndale. 2.

The Bible in English literature. 3. The values of the Revised Version.

Bibliography.—Gardiner's "The Bible as English Literature"; Goodspeed's "The Makers of the English New Testament"; Milligan's "The Expository Value of the Revised Version"; Kenyon's "Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts"; Eadie's "The English Bible"; Moulton's "History of the English Bible"; Smyth's "How God Inspired the Bible."

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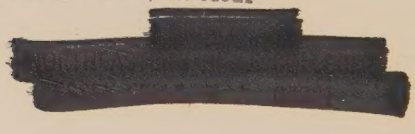

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